

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
BUCANIER  
OF  
AMERICA:

CONTAINING,

I. The Exploits and Adventures of LE GRAND, LOLONOIS, ROCHE BRASILIANO, BAT the Portuguese, Sir H. MORGAN, &c.

II. The dangerous Voyage and bold Attempts of Capt. SHARP, WATLIN, SAWKINS, COXON, and others, in the South Sea.

III. A Journal of a Voyage into the South Sea by the Free-booters of America, from 1684 to 1689.

IV. A Relation of a Voyage of the Sieur DE MONTAUBAN, Captain of the Free-booters, in Guinea, in the Year 1695.

EXHIBITING

A particular Account and Description of PORTO BELLO, CHAGRE, PANAMA, CUBA, HAVANNA, and most of the Spanish Possessions on the Coasts of the West Indies, and also all along the Coasts of the South Sea; with the Manner in which they have been invaded, attempted, or taken by these Adventurers.

The Whole written in several Languages by Persons present at the Transactions.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

THE FIFTH EDITION.

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# THE P R E F A C E.

**I***T would be superfluous to say much by way of Preface to the following work, since it has some years ago been exposed to public view with a general applause, and cannot but be particularly acceptable at this time, because the scenes of all the daring adventures and wondrous actions performed against the Spaniards, and therein described, are the places where the English courage and bravery are now prepared to exert themselves against the enemy that has so long oppressed our nation: but as there is here drawn together all that ever has been writ in any language upon the subject of Bucaniering, and that in a successive order of time, it will be necessary to enumerate the particulars thereof, for the better information and satisfaction of the reader.*

*In the First Part then we have all the expeditions and exploits of the Bucaniers of Jamaica and Tortuga, both English and French, set forth at large; and more especially what was transacted under the conduct of Sir Henry Morgan, by sacking of Porto-Bello, burning of Panama, &c. in the West-Indies, written originally in the Dutch tongue, by Joseph Esquemeling, one of the Bucaniers.*

*The Second Part contains the no less bold attempts and performances of men of the same kidney under the command of Captains Sharp, Sawkins, Coxon and others, on the coasts of the South Seas; the whole being intermixed with vast variety of adventures and discoveries, and written by Mr. Basil Ringrose, who kept a journal of the said voyage, being personally present at the transactions.*

*This*

## P R E F A C E.

*This is succeeded by the Journal of a voyage made into the South Sea by the American Free-booters, commencing from the year 1684 (about which time the other terminated) and ending at 1689, which was written in French by the Sieur Ravenau de Luffan, an Ensign amongst them; and indeed the particulars are all as new as they are stupendous and amazing; and for my own part, I must ingenuously confess, that since my first perusal, I could never yet think of them without the greatest astonishment imaginable, especially seeing the whole contexture and narrative is so plain and simple, that to me it seems to carry an evidence of truth in every part and tittle of it.*

*I will not take upon me to apologize for many of the actions done, and here related, since even in the most regular troops and best disciplined armies, daily enormities are committed, which the strictest vigilance cannot prevent; however, it is very remarkable, that in such a lawless body as these Bucaniers seemed to be in respect to all others, that yet there should be such an œconomy (if I may so say) kept, and regularity practised among themselves, so that every one seemed to have his property as much secured as if he had been a member of the most civilized community in the world. But be those things as they will, a bolder race of men, both as to personal valour and conduct, certainly never yet appeared on the liquid element, or dry land, and I hope it will be taken neither for an affront nor a compliment, to say the English were always the leading and prevailing party amongst them.*

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CHAP. I.

*The Introduction. The Author \* sets forth for the Western Islands, in the service of the West-India Company of France. They meet with an English frigate, and arrive at the island of Tortuga.*

AS the Bucaniers in the West Indies have been so formidable and numerous, that they have interrupted the trade of Europe into those parts, and our English merchants, in particular, have suffered more by their depredations than by the united force of France and Spain in the late war, we do not doubt but the world will be curious to know the original and progress of these desperadoes, who were the terror of the trading part of the world.

\* Joseph Esquemeling, in company with Le Grand, Lolonois, Roche Brasilano, Bat the Portuguese, &c.

VOL. I.

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But before we enter upon their particular history, it will not be amiss, by way of introduction, to shew, by some examples drawn from history, the great mischief and danger which threaten kingdoms and commonwealths from the increase of these sort of robbers, when either by the troubles of particular times, or the neglect of governments, they are not crushed before they gather strength.

It has been the case heretofore, that when a single pirate has been suffered to range the seas, as not being worth the notice of a government, he has by degrees grown so powerful, as to put them to the expence of a great deal of blood and treasure, before he was suppressed. We shall not examine how it came to pass that our bucaniers in the West-Indies have continually increased till of late; this is an enquiry which belongs to the legislature.

I shall therefore speak of the pirates infesting the West-Indies, where they are more numerous than in any other parts of the world, on several reasons.

First, Because there are so many uninhabited little islands and keys, with harbours convenient and secure for cleaning their vessels, and abounding with what they often want, provision; I mean water, sea-fowl, turtle, shell and other fish; where, if they carry in but strong liquor, they indulge a time, and become ready for new expeditions before any intelligence can reach to hurt them.

It may here perhaps be no unnecessary digression to explain what they call keys in the West-Indies. These are small sandy islands, appearing a little above the surface of the water, with only a few bushes or weeds upon them, but abound (those most at any distance from the main) with turtle, amphibious animals that always choose the quietest and most unfrequented place for laying their eggs, which are to a vast number in the seasons, and would seldom be

seen.



seen, but for this (except by pirates). There vessels from Jamaica and the other governments make voyages, called turtling, for supplying the people, a common and approved food with them. I am apt to think these keys, especially those high islands, to have been once contiguous with them, and separated by earthquakes (frequently there) or inundations, because some of them that have been within continual view, as those high Jamaica, are observed within our time to be entirely wasted away and lost, and others daily wasting. They are not only of the use above taken notice of to pirates, but it is commonly believed were always, in bucaniering piratical times, the hiding-places for their riches, and oftentimes a shelter for themselves, till their friends on the main had found means to obtain indemnity for their crimes: for you must understand, when acts of grace were more frequent, and the laws less severe, these men continually found favours and encouragers at Jamaica, and perhaps they are not all dead yet. I have been told many of them still living have been of the same trade, and left it off only because they can live as well honestly, and gain now at the hazard of others necks.

Secondly, Another reason why these seas are chose by pirates, is the great commerce thither by French, Spaniards, Dutch, and especially English ships: they are sure in the latitude of these trading islands to meet with prizes, booties of provision, clothing, and naval stores, and sometimes money; there being great sums remitted this way to England (the returns of the assiento, and private slave-trade to the Spanish West-Indies, and, in short, by some one or other, all the riches of Potosi.

A third reason is, the inconveniency and difficulty of being pursued by the men of war; the

many small inlets, lagoons, and harbours, on these solitary islands and keys, is a natural security.

It is generally here that the pirates begin their enterprizes, setting out at first with a very small force; and by infesting these seas, and those of the continent of North-America, in a year's time, if they have good luck on their sides, they accumulate such strength as enables them to make foreign expeditions. The first is usually to Guinea, taking the Azores and Cape de Verd Islands in their way, and then to Brazil and the East-Indies, where, if they meet with prosperous voyages, they set down at Madagascar, or the neighbouring islands, and enjoy their ill-gotten wealth, among their elder brethren, with impunity. But that I may not give too much encouragement to the profession, I must inform my maritime readers, that the far greater part of these rovers are cut short in the pursuit by a sudden precipitation into the other world.

The rise of these rovers, since the peace of Utrecht, or at least the great increase of them, may justly be imputed to the Spanish settlements in the West-Indies; the governors of which, being often some hungry courtiers sent thither to repair or make a fortune, generally countenance all proceedings that bring in profit: they grant commissions to great numbers of vessels of war, on pretence of preventing an interloping trade, with orders to seize all ships or vessels whatsoever within five leagues of their coasts, which our English ships cannot well avoid coming, in their voyage to Jamaica. But if the Spanish captains chance to exceed this commission, and rob and plunder at discretion, the sufferers are allowed to complain, and exhibit a process in their court, and after great expence of suit, delay of time, and other inconveniencies, obtain a decree in their favour; but then, when the ship

ship and cargo comes to be claimed, with costs of suit, they find, to their sorrow, that it has been previously condemned, and the plunder divided among the crew; the commander that made the capture, who alone is responsible, is found to be a poor rascally fellow, not worth a groat, and, no doubt, is placed in that station for the like purposes.

The frequent losses sustained by our merchants abroad by these pirates was provocation enough to attempt something by way of reprisal; and a fair opportunity offering itself in the year 1716, the traders to the West-Indies took care not to slip it over, but made the best use of it their circumstances would permit.

It was about two years before, that the Spanish galleons, or plate fleet, had been cast away in the gulf of Florida, and several vessels from the Havanna were at work, with diving engines, to fish up the silver that was on board the galleons.

The Spaniards had recovered some millions of pieces of eight, and had carried it all to the Havanna; but they had at present about 350,000 pieces of eight in silver, then upon the spot, and were daily taking up more. In the mean time, two ships and three sloops, fitted out from Jamaica, Barbadoes, &c. under Captain Henry Jennings, sailed to the gulf, and found the Spaniards there upon the wreck; the money before spoken of was left on shore, deposited in a storehouse, under the government of two commissaries, and a guard of about sixty soldiers.

The rovers came directly upon the place, bringing their little fleet to an anchor, and, in a word, landing 300 men, they attacked the guard, who immediately ran away; and thus they seized the

treasure, which they carried off, making the best of their way to Jamaica.

In their way they unhappily met with a Spanish ship, bound from Porto Bello to the Havanna, with a great many rich goods, viz. bales of cochineal, casks of indico, and 60,000 pieces of eight more, which, their hands being in, they took, and having rifled the vessel, let her go.

They went away to Jamaica with their booty, and were followed in view of the port by the Spaniards, who having seen them thither, went back to the governor of the Havanna, with the account of it, who immediately sent a vessel to the governor of Jamaica, to complain of this robbery, and to reclaim the goods.

As it was in full peace, and contrary to all justice and right, that this fact was committed, they were soon made sensible that the government at Jamaica would not suffer them to go unpunished, much less protect them: therefore they saw a necessity of shifting for themselves; so, to make bad worse, they went to sea again, though not without disposing of their cargo to good advantage, and furnishing themselves with ammunition, provisions, &c. and being thus made desperate, they turned pirates, robbing not the Spaniards only, but their own countrymen, and any nation they could lay their hands on.

It happened about this time that the Spaniards, with three or four small men of war, fell upon our logwood-cutters in the bay of Campeachy and Honduras, and after they had made them prizes, they gave the men belonging to them three sloops to carry them home; but these men being made desperate by their misfortunes, and meeting with the pirates, they took on with them, and so increased their number.

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Not to detain the reader any longer with these particulars, I shall proceed to give an account of our voyage from Havre de Grace in France, from whence we set sail in a ship called St. John, May the 2d, 1666. Our vessel was equipped with twenty eight guns, twenty mariners, and 220 passengers, including those whom the company sent as free passengers. Soon after we came to an anchor under the cape of Basfleur, there to join seven other ships of the same West-India company, which were to come from Dieppe, under convoy of a man of war, mounted with thirty-seven guns, and 250 men. Of these ships two were bound for Senegal, five for the Caribbee islands, and ours for Tortuga. Here gathered to us about twenty sail of other ships, bound for Newfoundland, with some Dutch vessels going for Nantz, Rochel, and St. Martin's: so that in all we made thirty sail. Here we put ourselves in a posture of defence, having notice that four English frigates of sixty guns each waited for us near Alderney. Our admiral, the Chevalier Sourdis, having given necessary orders, we sailed thence with a favourable gale, and some mists arising, totally impeded the English frigates from discovering our fleet. We steered our course as near as we could to the coast of France, for fear of the enemy.

As we sailed along, we met a vessel of Ostend, who complained to our admiral, that a French privateer had robbed him that very morning; whereupon we endeavoured to pursue the said pirate; but our labour was in vain, not being able to overtake him.

Our fleet, as we sailed, caused no small fears and alarms to the inhabitants of the coast of France, these judging us to be English, and that we sought some convenient place for landing. To allay their fright, we hung out our colours, but they would not trust us.



After this we came to an anchor in the bay of Conquet in Britany, near Ushant, there to take in water. Having stored ourselves with fresh provisions here, we prosecuted our voyage, designing to pass by the Ras of Fontenau, and not expose ourselves to the Sorlingues, fearing the English that were cruising thereabouts. This river Ras is of a current very strong and rapid, which rolling over many rocks, discharges itself into the sea on the coast of France, in 48 deg. 10 min. latitude; so that this passage is very dangerous, all the rocks, as yet, being not thoroughly known.

Here I shall mention the ceremony, which, at this passage, and some other places, is used by the mariners, and by them called baptism, though it may seem little to our purpose. The master's mate cloathed himself with a ridiculous sort of garment that reached to his feet, and on his head he put a suitable cap, made very burlesque; in his right hand he had a naked wooden sword, and in his left a pot full of ink; his face was horribly blacked with soot, and his neck adorned with a collar of many little pieces of wood: thus apparelled, he commanded every one to be called who had never passed through that dangerous place before; and then causing them to kneel down, he made the sign of the cross on their foreheads with ink, and gave every one a stroke on the shoulders with his wooden sword: mean while the standers-by cast a bucket of water upon each man's head, and so ended the ceremony: but that done, each of the baptized must give a bottle of brandy, placing it nigh the main-mast, without speaking a word, even those who have no such liquor not being excused. If the vessel never passed that way before, the captain is obliged to distribute some wine among the mariners and passengers; but as for other gifts which the newly-

newly-baptized frequently offer, they are divided among the old seamen, and of them they make a banquet among themselves.

The Hollanders, likewise, not only at this passage, but also at the rocks called Berlingues, nigh the coast of Portugal, in 39 deg. 40 min. (being a passage very dangerous, especially by night, when, in the dark, the rocks are not distinguishable, the land being very high) they use some such ceremony, but their manner of baptizing is very different from that of the French, for he that is to be baptized is fastened, and hoisted up thrice at the main-yard's end, as if he were a criminal. If he be hoisted the fourth time, in the name of the Prince of Orange, or of the captain of the vessel, his honour is more than ordinary. Thus every one is dipped several times in the main ocean, but he that is dipped first has the honour of being saluted with a gun. Such as are not willing to sail must pay twelve pence for ransom; if he be an officer, two shillings; and if a passenger, at their own pleasure. If the ship never passed that way before, the captain is to give a small rundlet of wine, which if he denies, the mariners may cut off the stem of the vessel. All the profit accruing by this ceremony is kept by the master's mate, who, after reaching their port, usually lays it out in wine, which is drank amongst the ancient seamen. Some say this ceremony was instituted by the Emperor Charles V. though it is not amongst his laws. But here I leave these sea-customs, and return to our voyage.

Having passed the Ras, we had very good weather till we came to Cape Finis Terræ; here a sudden tempest surprized us, and separated our ship from the rest that were in our company. This storm continued eight days, in which time it would move compassion to see how miserably the passengers.

gers were tumbled to and fro on all sides of the ship, insomuch that the mariners, in the performance of their duty, were compelled to tread upon them. This boisterous weather being over, we had very favourable gales again, till we came to the tropic of Cancer. This tropic is an imaginary circle, which astronomers have invented in the heavens, limiting the progress of the sun towards the north pole: it is placed in the latitude of 23 deg. 30 min. Here we were baptized a second time, as before. The French always perform this ceremony at the tropic of Cancer, as also under the tropic of Capricorn. In this part of the world we had very favourable weather, at which we were very glad, because of our great want of water; for that element was so scarce with us, that we were stinted to two half pints a-man every day.

About the latitude of Barbadoes we met an English frigate, or privateer, who first began to give us chase, but finding herself not to exceed us in force, presently got away: hereupon we pursued her, firing several guns, eight pounders at her; but at length she escaped, and we returned to our course. Soon after we came within sight of Martinico. We were bent to the coast of the isle of St. Peter, but were frustrated by a storm which took us hereabouts: hence we resolved to steer to Guadalupe, yet we could not reach this island, by reason of the said storm; so that we directed our course to the isle of Tortuga, being the very same land we were bound to. We passed along the coast of Punta Rica, which is extremely agreeable and delightful to the sight, being adorned with beautiful woods, even to the tops of the mountains. Then we discovered Hispaniola (of which I shall give a description) and we coasted about it till we came to Tortuga, our desired port. Here we anchored, July 7th,

in the same year, not having lost one man in the voyage. We landed the goods that belonged to the West-India Company, and soon after the ship was sent to Calde Sac with some passengers.

C H A P. II.

*A Description of Tortuga, and of the fruits and plants there. How the French first settled there, at two several times, and forced out the Spaniards. The author twice sold in the said island.*

THE island of Tortuga is situate on the north side of Hispaniola, in 20 deg. 30 min. latitude; its just extent is threescore leagues about. The Spaniards, who gave name to this island, called it so from the shape of the land, in some manner resembling a great sea-tortoise, called by them Tortuga-de-mar. The country is very mountainous, and full of rocks, and yet thick of lofty trees, that grow upon the hardest of those rocks, without partaking of a softer soil: hence it comes that their roots, for the greatest part, are seen naked, entangled among the rocks like the branching of ivy against our walls. That part of this island which stretches to the north is totally uninhabited: the reason is, first, because it is incommodious and unhealthy; and secondly, for the ruggedness of the coast, that gives no access to the shore, unless among rocks, almost inaccessible. For this cause it is peopled only on the south part, which hath only one port, indifferently good: yet this harbour has two entries or channels, which afford passage to ships of 70 guns; the port itself being without danger, and capable of receiving a great number of vessels. The inhabited parts, of which the first is called the Low Lands, or Low Country; this is the chief among



the rest, because it contains the port aforesaid: the town is called Cayona, and here live the chiefest and richest planters of the island. The second part is called the Middle Plantation; its soil is yet almost new, being only known to be good for tobacco. The third is named Ringot, and is situate towards the west part of the island. The fourth, and last, is called the Mountain, in which place were made the first plantations upon this island.

As to the wood that grows here, we have already said, that the trees are exceeding tall, and pleasing to the sight; whence no man will doubt but they may be applied to several uses: such is the Yellow Saunder, which by the inhabitants is called Bois de Chandel, or, in English, Candle-wood, because it burns like a candle, and serves them with light while they fish by night. Here grows, also, *Lignum Sanctum*, or *Gualacum*: its virtues are very well known, more especially to those who observe not the seventh commandment, and are given to impure copulations; physicians drawing hence, in several compositions, the greatest antidote for venereal diseases, as also for cold and viscous humours. The trees, likewise, which afford *Gummi Elemi*, grow here in great abundance, as doth *Radix Chinae*, or China-root; yet this is not so good as that of other parts of the western world. It is very white and soft, and serves for pleasant food to the wild boars, when they can find nothing else. This island, also, is not deficient in Aloes, nor an infinite number of the other medicinal herbs, which may please the curiosity of such as are given to their contemplation: moreover, for building of ships, or any other sort of architecture, here are found several sorts of timber. The fruits, likewise, which grow here abundantly, are nothing inferior, in quantity or quality, to what other islands produce. I shall  
name



name only some of the most ordinary and common ; such are Magniot, Potatoes, Abajou apples, Yannas, Bacones, Paquays, Carosoles, Mamayns, Annanases, and divers other sorts, which I omit to specify. Here grow, likewise, in great numbers, those trees called Palmitoes, or Palmites, whence is drawn a certain juice, which serves the inhabitants instead of wine, and whose leaves cover their houses instead of tiles.

In this island aboundeth, also, the wild boar : the governor hath prohibited the hunting of them with dogs, fearing lest the island being but small, the whole race of them, in a short time, should be destroyed. The reason why he thought convenient to preserve these wild beasts, was, that in case of any invasion, the inhabitants might sustain themselves with their food, especially were they once constrained to retire to the woods and mountains. Yet this sort of game is almost impeded by itself, by reason of the many rocks and precipices, which, for the greatest part, are covered with little shrubs, very green and thick ; whence the huntsmen have oftentimes fallen, and left us the sad remembrance of many a memorable disaster.

At a certain time of the year there resort to Tortuga large flocks of wild pigeons, and then the inhabitants feed on them very plentifully, having more than they can consume, and leaving totally to their repose all other sorts of fowl, both wild and tame, that so, in the absence of the pigeons, these may supply their place. But as nothing in the universe, though never so pleasant, can be found, but what hath something of bitterness with it, the very symbol of this truth we see in the aforesaid pigeons ; for these, the season being past, can scarce be touched with the tongue, they become so extremely lean, and bitter even to admiration : the reason  
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of this bitterness is attributed to a certain seed which they eat about that time, even as bitter as gall. About the sea-shores, every where, are found great multitudes of crabs, both of land and sea, and both sorts very big. These are good to feed servants and slaves, whose palates they please, but are very hurtful to the sight: besides, being eaten too often, they cause great giddiness in the head, with much weakness of the brain; so that very frequently they are deprived of sight for a quarter of an hour.

The French having settled in the isle of St. Christopher, planted there a sort of trees, of which, at present, there possibly may be greater quantities; with the timber whereof they made long-boats and hoys, which they sent thence westward, well manned and victualled, to discover other islands. These setting sail from St. Christopher, came within sight of Hispaniola, where they arrived with abundance of joy. Having landed, they marched into the country, where they found large quantities of cattle, such as cows, bulls, horses, and wild boars; but finding no great profit in these animals, unless they could inclose them, and knowing, likewise, the island to be pretty well peopled by the Spaniards, they thought it convenient to enter upon and seize the island of Tortuga. This they performed without any difficulty, there being upon the island no more than ten or twelve Spaniards to guard it. These few men let the French come in peaceably, and possess the island for six months, without any trouble. Mean while they passed and repassed with their canoes, to Hispaniola, from whence they transported many people, and at last began to plant the whole island of Tortuga. The few Spaniards remaining there, perceiving the French to increase their number daily, began at last to repine at their prosperity, and grudge them the possession: hence they

they gave notice to others of their nation, their neighbours, who sent several boats well armed and manned to dispossess the French. This expedition succeeded according to their desires; for the new possessors seeing the great number of Spaniards, fled with all they had to the woods, and hence, by night, they wafted over with canoes to the island of Hispaniola: this they the more easily performed, having no women or children with them, nor any great substance to carry away. Here they also retire into the woods, both to seek for food, and from thence with secrecy, to give intelligence to others of their own faction; judging for certain that within a little while they should be in a capacity to hinder the Spaniards from fortifying in Tortuga.

Mean while the Spaniards of the great island ceased not to seek after their new guests, the French, with intent to root them out of the woods, if possible, or cause them to perish with hunger; but this design soon failed, having found that the French were masters both of good guns, powder, and bullets. Here, therefore, the fugitives waited for a certain opportunity, wherein they knew the Spaniards were to come from Tortuga with arms, and a great number of men, to join with those of the greater island, for their destruction: when this occasion offered, they, in the mean while, deserting the woods where they were, returned to Tortuga, and dispossessed the small number of Spaniards that remained at home. Having so done, they fortified themselves the best they could, thereby to prevent the return of the Spaniards, in case they should attempt it. Moreover, they sent immediately to the governor of St. Christopher's, craving his aid and relief, and demanding of him a governor, the better to be united among themselves, and strengthened on all occasions. The governor of St. Christopher's received their petition with

with much satisfaction, and, without delay, sent monsieur le Passeur to them in quality of a governor, together with a ship full of men, and all necessaries for their establishment and defence. No sooner had they received this recruit, but the governor commanded a fortrefs to be built upon the top of a high rock, from whence he could hinder the entrance of any ships, or other vessels, to the port. To this fort no other access could be had, than by almost climbing through a very narrow passage, that was capable only of receiving two persons at once, and those not without difficulty. In the middle of this rock was a great cavity, which now serves for a store-house; besides here was great convenience for raising a battery. The fort being finished, the governor commanded two guns to be mounted, which could not be done without great toil and labour; as also, a house to be built within the fort, and afterwards the narrow way, that led to the said fort, to be broken and demolished, leaving no other ascent thereto than by a ladder. Within the fort gushes out a plentiful fountain of pure fresh water, sufficient to refresh a garrison of a thousand men. Being possessed of these conveniences, and the security these things might promise, the French began to people the island, and each of them to seek their living, some by hunting, others by planting tobacco, and others by cruizing and robbing on the coasts of the Spanish islands; which trade is continued by them to this day.

The Spaniards, notwithstanding, could not behold, but with jealous eyes, the daily increase of the French in Tortuga, fearing lest in time they might by them be dispossessed also of Hispaniola. Thus taking an opportunity when many of the French were abroad at sea, and others employed in hunting, with eight hundred men, in several canoes, they



they landed again in Tortuga, almost without being perceived by the French ; but finding that the governor had cut down many trees for the better discovery of any enemy, in case of an assault, as also that nothing of consequence could be done without great guns, they consulted about the fittest place for raising a battery : this place was soon concluded to be the top of a mountain which was in sight, seeing that from thence alone they could level their guns at the fort, which now lay open to them, since the cutting down of the trees by the new possessors. Hence they resolved to open a way for the carriage of some pieces of ordnance to the top. This mountain is somewhat high, and the upper part thereof plain, from whence the whole island may be viewed : the sides thereof are very rugged, by reason a great number of innaccessible rocks do surround it ; so that the ascent was very difficult, and would always have been the same, had not the Spaniards undergone the immense labour and toil of making the way before-mentioned, as I shall now relate.

The Spaniards had with them many slaves and Indians, labouring men, whom they call Matades, or, in English, Half yellow Men ; these they ordered with iron tools to dig a way through the rocks. This they performed with the greatest speed imaginable, and through this way, by the help of many ropes and pulleys, they at last made shift to get up two pieces of ordnance, wherewith they made a battery next day, to play on the fort. Mean while the French, knowing these designs, prepared for a defence (while the Spaniards were busy about the battery) sending notice every where to their companions for help. Thus the hunters of the island all joined together, and with them all the pirates who where not already too far from home : these landed by night at Tortuga, lest they should be seen by the Spaniards ; and under the same obscurity of the



the night, they all together, by a back way, climbed the mountain where the Spaniards were posted, which they did the more easily, being acquainted with these rocks. They came up at the very instant that the Spaniards, who were above, were preparing to shoot at the fort, not knowing in the least of their coming. Here they set upon them at their backs, with such fury, as forced the greatest part to precipitate themselves from the top to the bottom, and dash their bodies in pieces: few or none escaped; for if any remained alive they were put to the sword. Some Spaniards did still keep the bottom of the mountain; but these hearing the shrieks and cries of them that were killed, and believing some tragical revolution to be above, fled immediately towards the sea, despairing ever to regain the island of Tortuga.

The governors of this island behaved themselves as proprietors and absolute lords thereof, till 1664, when the West-India company of France took possession thereof, and sent thither for their governor, monsieur Ogeron. These planted the colony for themselves by their factors and servants, thinking to drive some considerable trade from thence with the Spaniards, even as the Hollanders do from Curaçao; but this design did not answer: for with other nations they could drive no trade, by reason they could not establish any secure commerce from the beginning with their own; forasmuch as at the first institution of this company in France, they agreed with the pirates, hunters, and planters, first possessors of Tortuga, that these should buy all their necessaries from the said company upon trust. And though this agreement was put in execution, yet the factor of the company soon after found that they could not recover either monies or returns from those people, that they were constrained to bring

bring some armed men into the island, in behalf of the company, to get in some of their payments: but neither this endeavour, nor any other, could prevail towards the settling a second trade with those of the island. Hereupon the company recalled their factors, giving them orders to sell all that was their own in the said plantation, both the servants belonging to the company (which were sold some for twenty, others for thirty pieces of eight) as also all other merchandizes and proprieties. And thus all their designs fell to the ground.

On this occasion I was also sold, being a servant under the said company, in whose service I left France: but my fortune was very bad, for I fell into the hands of the most cruel and perfidious man that ever was born, who was then governor, or rather lieutenant-general of that island. This man treated me with all the hard usage imaginable, yea, with that of hunger, with which I thought I should have perished inevitably: withal, he was willing to let me buy my freedom and liberty, but not under the rate of 300 pieces of eight; I not being master of one at a time in the world. At last, through the manifold miseries I endured, as also affliction of mind, I was thrown into a dangerous sickness. This misfortune, added to the rest, was the cause of my happiness; for my wicked master, seeing my condition, began to fear lest he should lose his monies with my life; hereupon he sold me a second time to a surgeon for seventy pieces of eight. Being with this second master, I began soon to recover my health, through the good usage I received, he being much more humane and civil than my first patron. He gave me both clothes and very good food, and after I had served him but one year, he offered me my liberty, with only this condition, that I should pay him 100 pieces of eight, when I  
was

was in a capacity so to do. Which kind proposal of his I could not but accept with infinite joy and gratitude.

Being now at liberty, though like Adam when he was first created, that is, naked and destitute of all human necessaries, not knowing how to get my living, I determined to enter into the order of the pirates or robbers at sea: into this society I was received with common consent, both of the superior and vulgar sort; where I continued till 1672. Having assisted them in all their designs and attempts, and served them in many notable exploits, of which hereafter I shall give the reader a true account, I returned to my own native country. But before I begin my relation, I shall say something of the island Hispaniola, which lies towards the western part of America, as also give my reader a brief description thereof, according to my slender ability and experience.

### C H A P. III.

#### *A description of Hispaniola.*

**T**HE large and rich island called Hispaniola is situate from 17 degrees to 19 degrees latitude; the circumference is 300 leagues; the extent from east to west 120; its breadth almost 50, being broader or narrower at certain places. This island was first discovered by Christopher Columbus, anno 1492; he being sent for this purpose by Ferdinand king of Spain; from which time to this present, the Spaniards have been continually possessors thereof. There are upon this island very good and strong cities, towns, and hamlets, as well as a great number of pleasant country-houses and plantations, the effects of the care and industry of the Spaniards, its inhabitants.

The

The chief city and metropolis hereof is Santo Domingo; being dedicated to St. Dominick, from whom it derives its name: it is situate towards the south, and affords a most excellent prospect; the country round about being embellished with innumerable rich plantations, as also verdant meadows and fruitful gardens; all which produce plenty and variety of excellent pleasant fruits, according to the nature of those countries. The governor of the island resides in this city, which is, as it were, the storehouse of all the cities, towns, and villages, which hence export and provide themselves with all necessaries for human life, and yet hath it this particularity above many other cities, that it entertains no commerce with any nation but its own, the Spaniards. The greatest part of the inhabitants are rich and substantial merchants or shopkeepers.

Another city of this island is San Jago or St. James, being consecrated to that apostle. This is an open place without walls or castle, situate in 19 degrees latitude. The inhabitants are generally hunters and planters, the adjacent territory and soil being very proper for the said exercises; the city is surrounded with large and delicious fields, as much pleasing to the view as those of Santo Domingo; and these abound with beasts both wild and tame, yielding vast numbers of skins and hides, very profitable to the owners.

In the south part of this island is another city, called Nuestra Sennora de Alta Gracia. This territory produces great quantities of Cacao, whereof the inhabitants make great store of the richest chocolate: here grows also ginger and tobacco, and much tallow is made of the beasts which are hereabouts hunted.

The inhabitants of this beautiful island of Hispaniola often resort in their canoes to the isle of Savona,



Savona, not far distant, where is their chief fishery, especially of tortoises. Hither those fish constantly resort in great multitudes at certain seasons, there to lay their eggs, burying them in the sands of the shore, where by the heat of the sun, which in those parts is very ardent, they are hatched. This island of Savona has little or nothing that is worthy consideration, being so very barren by reason of its sandy soil. True it is, that here grows some small quantity of *Lignum sanctum*, or *Guaiacum*, of whose use we say something in another place.

Westward of Santo Domingo is another great village called *El Pueblo de Aso*, or the town of *Aso*; the inhabitants thereof drive great traffick with those of another village, in the very middle of the island, and is called *San Juan de Goave*; or *St. John of Goave*. This is invironed with a magnificent prospect of gardens, woods, and meadows. Its territory extends above twenty leagues in length, and grazes a great number of wild bulls and cows; in this village scarce dwell any others than hunters and butchers, who slay the beasts that are killed. These are for the most part a mungrel sort of people; some of which are born of white European people and negroes, and called *Mulatos*: others of Indians and white people, and termed *Mesticos*: but others come of negroes and Indians, and are called *Alcatrazes*: besides which sorts of people there are several other species and races, both here and in other places of the West-Indies, of whom this account may be given, that the Spaniards love better the negro women in those western parts, or the tawny Indian females, than their own white European race; when as, peradventure, the negroes and Indians have greater inclinations to the white women, or those that come near them, the tawny, that



their own. From the said villages are exported yearly vast quantities of tallow and hides, they exercising no other traffick: for as to the lands in this place, they are not cultivated, by reason of the excessive driness of the soil. These are the chiefest places that the Spaniards possess in this island, from the cape of Lobos towards St. John de Goave, unto the cape of Samana nigh the sea, on the north side, and from the eastern part towards the sea, called Punta de Espada. All the rest of the island is possessed by the French, who are also planters and hunters.

This island hath very good ports for ships from the cape of Lobos to the cape of Tiburon, on the west side thereof. In this space there are no less than four ports, exceeding in goodness, largeness, and security, even the very best of England. Besides these, from the cape of Tiburon to the cape of Donna Maria, there are two very excellent ports, and from this cape to the cape of St. Nicholas, there are no less than twelve others. Every one of these ports hath also the confluence of two or three good rivers, in which are great plenty of several sorts of fish very pleasing to the palate. The country hereabouts is well watered with large and deep rivers and brooks, so that this part of the land may easily be cultivated without any great fear of droughts, because of these excellent streams. The sea-coasts and shores are also very pleasant, to which the tortoises resort in large numbers to lay their eggs. This island was formerly very well peopled on the north side, with many towns and villages; but these being ruined by the Hollanders were at last, for the greatest part, deserted by the Spaniards.

## C H A P IV.

*Of the fruits, trees, and animals of Hispaniola.*

**T**HE spacious fields of this island commonly are five or six leagues in length, the beauty whereof is so pleasing to the eye, that, together with the great variety of their natural productions, they captivate the senses of the beholder. For here, once, they not only with diversity of objects recreate the sight, but with many of the same do also please the smell, and with most contribute delight to the taste; also they flatter and excite the appetite, especially with the multitudes of oranges and lemons here growing, both sweet and sour, and those that participate of both tastes, and are only pleasantly tartish. Besides, here abundantly grow several sorts of fruit, such are Citrons, Toronjals, and Limas; in English not improperly called crab lemons. True it is that the lemons exceed not here the bigness of an hen's egg, which smallness distinguishes them from those of Spain most frequently used in these our northern countries. The date trees, which here cover very spacious plains, are exceeding tall; which notwithstanding doth not offend, but delight the view. Their height is from 150 to 200 feet, being destitute of branches to the very top: within it is a certain pleasant white substance like that of white cabbage, whence the branches and leaves sprout, in which the seeds or dates are contained. Every month one of those branches falls, and at the same time another sprouts out; but the seed ripens not but once a year. The dates are food extremely coveted by the hedge hogs; the white substance at the top of the tree is used by the Spaniards as cabbage in Europe, they cutting it in slices, and boiling it in their ollas with all sorts of

meat

neat. The leaves of this date-tree are seven or eight feet long, and three or four broad, being very fit to cover houses; for they defend from rain equally with the best tiles, though never so rudely buddled together: they use them also to wrap up smoked flesh, and to make buckets to carry water in, though not durable for above six, seven, or eight days. These cabbages, for so we shall call them, are greenish on the outside, though inwardly very white, whence may be separated a rind very like to parchment, being fit to write on as we do on paper. The bodies of these trees are of a huge thickness, which two men can hardly compass with their arms, and yet they cannot properly be termed woody, but only three or four inches deep in thickness, all the rest of the internal part being very soft; so that paring off those three or four inches of woody substance, the remaining part may be sliced like new cheese: they wound them three or four feet above the root, and making an incision in the body, from whence gently distills a liquor, which in a short time fermenting becomes as strong as the richest wine, and which easily inebriates, if not used with moderation. The French call these palm-trees Frank-palms, and they only grow here or elsewhere in stony ground.

Besides these palm-trees which we have mentioned, there are in Hispaniola four other species of palms, distinguished by the names of Latanier, Palma Espinosa, or prickly-palm, Palma a Charlet, or Rosary Palm. The latanier-palm is not so tall as the wine-palm, but almost of the same shape, only the leaves are like the fans or women use: they grow mostly in gravelly and sandy ground, their circumference being of ten feet more or less. The body hath many prickles or thorns, half a foot long, very sharp and pungent. It produces its seed like as that above-mentioned,

mentioned, which serves for food to the wild beasts.

The prickly-palm, so called, because it is infinitely full of prickles from the root to the very leaves, much more than the precedent. With these prickles the barbarous Indians use to torment the prisoners they take in battle: they tie them to a tree, then taking these thorns, they put them into little pellets of cotton dipt in oil, and stick them into the sides of the miserable prisoners as thick as the bristles of a hedgehog, which cause an incredible torment to the patient; then they set them on fire, and if the tormented prisoner sing in the midst of his torments he is esteemed a courageous soldier, who neither fears his enemies nor their torments; but if, on the contrary, he cries out, they esteem him a coward, and unworthy of any memory. This custom was told me by an Indian, who said he had used his enemies thus oftentimes. The like cruelties to these many Christians have seen while they lived among those barbarians. But returning to the prickly-palm, I shall only tell you, that this palm-tree in this only differs from the *latanier*, that the leaves are like those of the *frank palm*; the seed is like that of the other palm-trees, being only much bigger and rounder, and full of little kernels as pleasing to the taste as our walnuts in Europe. This tree grows for the most part in the marshes and low grounds of the sea-coast.

The wine-palm is so called from the abundance of wine gathered from it. This palm grows on high and rocky mountains, not exceeding the height of forty or fifty feet, but yet of an extraordinary shape or form: for, from the root up half-way, it is only three or four inches thick, but upwards something above two-thirds of its height; it is big and as thick as an ordinary bucket or mill-pail; within it is full of a certain matter, very



much like the tender stalk of a white cabbage, which is very juicy of a liquor very pleasing to the palate. This liquor after fermentation, and settling of the grounds, becomes very good and clear wine, without any great pains; for having wounded the tree with a hatchet, they make a square incision or orifice in it, through which they bruise the said matter, till it may be squeezed out, or expressed with the hands, they needing no other instrument. With the leaves they make vessels, not only to settle and purify the said liquor, but also to drink it. It bears its fruit like to other palms, but very small, being like cherries: the taste is very good, but dangerous to the throat, causing extreme pains, which produce malignant quinsies.

The Palm a Chapelet, or Rosary Palm, so called by the French and Spaniards, because its seed is very fit to make rosaries or beads to say prayers upon, they being small, hard, and easily bored. This fourth species grows on the tops of the highest mountains, and is of an excessive tallness, very straight, and hath very few leaves.

Here grows also a certain sort of Apricot-trees, whose fruit equals in bigness that of our ordinary melons: the colour is like ashes, and the taste the very same with that of ours in Europe; the stones of this fruit are as big as a hen's egg. On these the wild boars feed very deliciously, and fatten to admiration.

The trees called Caremites are very like to our pear-trees, whose fruits resemble our damascene pears, or prunes of Europe, being of a very pleasant and agreeable taste: this fruit is black on the outside, and the kernels thereof, sometimes only two, sometimes three or four, as big as a lupine. This gum affords no less pleasant food to the wild



boars than the apricots above-mentioned, only it is not so commonly found, nor in such quantities.

The Genipa-trees are all over this island, being like our cherry-trees, though the branches are more dilated: the fruit thereof is ash-coloured, as big as two fists, which is full of many prickles or points, involved under a thin membrane or skin, which, if not taken away at the time of eating, causes great obstructions and gripings of the belly. Before this fruit grows ripe, if pressed, it affords a juice as black as ink, being fit to write withal; but the letters disappear within nine days, the paper remaining as white as if it never had been written on. The wood of this tree is very strong, solid, and hard, good to build ships, seeing it lasts many years in the water without putrefaction.

Besides these, divers other sorts of trees are natives of this island, producing very excellent and pleasant fruits. Of these I shall omit to name several, knowing there are learned authors who have described and searched them with greater attention and curiosity; but I shall mention some few more in particular: such are the Cedars, which this part of the world produces in prodigious quantities: the French call them Acajou, and they find them useful for building ships and canoes. These canoes are like little wherry-boats, being made of only one tree, hollowed, and fitted for the sea: they are so swift, that they may be well called Neptune's post-horses. The Indians make these canoes without any iron instruments, by only burning the tree nigh the root, and then so governing the fire, that nothing is burnt more than what they would have. Some have hatchets of flint, with which they scrape or pare off whatsoever was burnt too far; and thus by fire only they give them that shape which re-

renders them capable of navigating 60 or 80 leagues with ordinary security.

As to medicinal productions, here is to be found the tree that affords the Gum Elemi used in our apothecaries shops; likewise Gualacum, or Lignum Sanctum, Lignum Aloes, Aloe Wood, Cassia Lignea, China Roots, with several others. The tree Mapou, besides that it is medicinal, is also used for making canoes, being very thick; yet it is much inferior to the Acajou, or Cedar, being somewhat spongy, sucking in much water, which renders it dangerous in navigation. The tree called Acoma hath its wood very hard and heavy, and of the colour of palm, which renders it very fit to make bars for the sugar-mills. Here are also, in great quantities, Brasilete, or Brasil wood, and that which the Spaniards call Manchanilla.

Brasil wood is now very well known in Holland and the Low Countries; it is called also by the Spaniards, Lenna de Peje palo; it serves only, or chiefly, for the trade of dyers: it grows abundantly along the sea-coasts, especially in two places, called Jacmel and Jaquina. These are two commodious ports or bays, capable of receiving ships of the greatest bulk.

The tree called Manchanilla, or Dwarf-apple-tree, grows near the sea-shore, being naturally so low, that its branches, though never so short, always touch the water: it bears a fruit somewhat like a sweet-scented apple, which yet is of a very enormous quality; for these apples being eaten by any person, he instantly changes colour, and such thirst seizes him, as all the water of the Thames cannot quench, he dying raving mad within a little while. But what is more strange, the fish that eat it often happens, of this fruit, are also poisonous. This tree affords a liquor thick and white,

like the fig-tree, which, if touched by the hand, raises blisters, and these are as red as if it had been scalded. One day, being hugely tormented with mosquitos or gnats, and being as yet unacquainted with the nature of this tree, I cut a branch to serve me for a fan, but all my face was swelled the next day, and filled with blisters, as if it were burnt, to such a degree, that I was blind for three days.

Yaco is another sort of tree, so called by the Spaniards, growing by the river sides. This bears a fruit like our bullace or damson-plums, which when ripe, is extremely coveted by the wild boars with which they fatten as much as our hogs do with the sweetest acorns of Spain. These trees love a sandy ground, yet are so low, that their branches being very large, they take up a great circumference, almost couching on the ground. The trees named Abelcoses bear fruit of like colour with the Yacoes above-mentioned, of the bigness of melons, the seeds or kernels being as big as eggs. The substance of this fruit is yellow, and of a pleasant taste, which the poorest among the French eat instead of bread, the wild boars not caring at all for it. These trees grow very tall and thick, being somewhat like our largest pear-trees.

As to the insects of this island, I shall only remark three sorts of flies, which excessively torment all human bodies, but especially such as were new or but little acquainted with these countries. The first sort are as big as our common horse-flies in Europe, and these darting themselves upon men's bodies, there stick, and suck their blood, till they can fly no longer. Their importunity obliges us to make almost continual use of branches of trees to fan them away. The Spaniards in those parts call them Mosquitos or gnats; but the French call them

them Maranguines. The second sort is no bigger than a grain of sand; these make no buzzing noise, as the preceding species do, so are less avoidable, being able also, through their smallness, to penetrate the finest linen or cloth. The hunters are forced to anoint their faces with hog's grease, to defend themselves from their stings; by night, in their huts or cottages, they constantly burn the leaves of tobacco, without which smoke they could not rest. True it is, in the day-time they are not very troublesome, in case any wind be stirring, for this, though never so little, dissipates them. The gnats of the third species exceed not the bigness of a grain of mustard; their colour is red; these sting not at all, but bite so sharply, as to create little ulcers; whence it often happens that the face swells, and is rendered frightful to the view. These are chiefly troublesome by day, even from morning till sun-set, after which they take their rest, and permit human bodies to do so. The Spaniards call these *Rojados*, and the French *Calarodes*.

The insects which the Spaniards call *Cochinillas*, and the English glow-worms, are also to be found here. These are very much like those of Europe, but somewhat bigger, and longer: they have two little specks on their heads, which by night give so much light, that three or four of them together upon a tree seem at a distance like a bright shining fire. I had once three of these *Cochinillas* in my cottage, which continued there till past midnight, shining so brightly, that without any other light, I could easily read in any book, of never so small a print. I attempted to bring some of them to Europe, but as soon as they came into a colder climate they died: they lost also their shining, upon the change of air, before their deaths. This shining



is so great, that the Spaniards, with great reason, call them *Moscas de fuego*, that is, Fire-flies.

There are also in Hispaniola a great number of Grillones, or crickets: these are of an extraordinary magnitude, if compared to ours, and so noisy, that they are ready to burst themselves with singing, if any person comes near them. Here is not a less number of reptiles, as serpents, &c. but by a particular providence of the Creator, these have no poison, neither do they any other harm than catch fowls, but more especially pullets, pigeons, and the like. Oftentimes these serpents or snakes are useful in houses, to clear them of rats and mice; for with great cunning they counterfeit their shrieks, and hereby deceive and catch them at their pleasure: having taken them, they only suck their blood at first, then throwing away the guts, they swallow almost entire the rest of the body, which they readily digest into soft excrements. Another sort of reptiles of this island is called *Cazadores de Moscas*, or Fly-catchers. This name was given to this reptile by the Spaniards, by reason they never could experiment that it lived upon any other food than flies. Hence it cannot be said that this creature causes any harm to the inhabitants, but rather benefit, seeing it consumes the vexatious and troublesome flies.

Here are also many land-tortoises; these breed mostly in mud, and fields overflowed with water. The inhabitants eat them as very good food. But here are a sort of very hideous spiders; these are as big as an ordinary egg, and their feet as long as those of the biggest sea-crabs: they are very hairy withal, and have four black teeth, like a rabbit's both in bigness and shape; but their bitings are not venomous, though they can bite very sharp, and do very commonly. They breed mostly in the roofs  
of



of houses. In this island also is the insect called in Latin Millepes, and in Greek Scolopendria, Many-feet; and likewise Scorpions: yet by the providence of nature, neither the one nor the other are poisonous; for though they often bite, yet the wounds require not any medicament for their cure; and though their bitings cause some inflammation and swelling at first, yet these symptoms disappear of their own accord. Thus in Hispaniola no venomous animal is found.

After the insects, I shall say something of that terrible beast called Cayman: this is a species of the crocodile, wherewith this island abounds. Among these Caymans, some are found to be very large, and horrible to the sight; some have been seen no less than seventy feet long, and twelve broad; yet more marvellous than their bulk is their cunning and subtlety: being hungry, they place themselves nigh the sides of rivers, especially at the fords where cattle come to drink, or wade over; here they lie without any motion, resembling an old tree fallen into the river, floating upon the waters; yet they go not far from the banks, but continually lurch in the same place, till some wild boar or cow come to drink, or refresh themselves; and then, with great activity, they seize on them with no less fierceness, and dragging the prey into the water, stifle it: but what is more admirable, is, that three or four days before the Caymans go upon this design, they eat nothing at all, but diving into the river, they swallow a hundred weight or two of stones; with these they render themselves heavier than before, and add to their natural strength (which is very great) thereby to make their assault the more terrible and secure. The prey thus stifled, they let it lie four or five days under water untouched, for they cannot eat the least bit unless it is half

rotten ; but when it is so much putrefied as is most pleasing to their palates, they devour it with great appetite and voracity. If they can light on any hides of beasts, placed by the inhabitants in the fields for drying, they drag them into the water, leaving them for some days, well loaded with stones, till the hair falls off; then they eat them with no less appetite than they would the animals themselves. I have seen myself, many times, like things to these I write: but beside my own experience, many writers of natural things have made entire treatises of these animals, describing their shape, magnitude, voracity, and other qualities. A certain person of good credit told me, that one day he was by a river side washing his baraca, or tent: as soon as he began his work, a Cayman fastened upon the tent, and dragged it under water: the man, desirous to save his tent, pulled, on the contrary, with all his strength, having in his mouth a butcher's knife (with which, as it happened, he was scraping the canvas) to defend himself, in case of necessity. The Cayman, angry at this, vaulted upon him out of the river, and drew him with great celerity into the water, endeavouring with his weight to stifle him. He finding himself in the greatest extremity, almost crushed to death by that huge animal, with his knife he gave the Cayman several wounds in the belly, with which he suddenly expired. Being thus delivered from danger, he drew the Cayman out of the water, and opened the body, to satisfy his curiosity: in his stomach he found near a hundred weight of stones, each stone being almost as big as his fist.

The Caymans are ordinarily busied in catching flies, which they eagerly devour: the occasion is, because close to their skin they have little scales, which have a sweet scent, somewhat like musk:

this

this aromatic odour the flies love, and here they come to repose themselves, and sting; thus they both persecute each other continually, with an incredible hatred and antipathy. Their manner of procreating and hatching their young is thus: they approach the sandy banks of some river exposed to the south sun; among these sands they lay their eggs, which afterwards they cover with their feet; and here they find a young generation hatched only by the heat of the sun. These, as soon as they are out of the shell, by natural instinct run to the water. Many times these eggs are destroyed by birds, that find them as they scrape among the sands: hereupon the female Caymans, when they fear the coming of any flocks of birds, oftentimes by night swallow these their eggs, and keep them in their stomachs till the danger is over, and then they bury them again, and, as I have told you, bring them forth again out of their bellies, till the season is come of their being hatched; then, if the mother be nigh, they run to her, and play with her, as little whelps do with their dams. In this sort of sport they will often run in and out of their mother's belly, even as rabbits into their holes. I myself have often spied them thus at play with their dams, over the water, upon the contrary banks of some river, and have disturbed their sport, by throwing a stone that way, causing them on a sudden to creep into the mother's bowels for fear. The manner of procreating of these animals is always such as I have related, and at the same time of the year; for they meddle not with one another but in May. They call them in this country Crocodiles, though in other places of the West-Indies they go under the name of Caymans.

## C H A P. V.

*Of all the sorts of quadrupedes and birds of this island: as also a relation of the French bucaniers.*

**B**ESIDE the fruits which this island produces, whose plenty, as is said, surpasses all the islands of America; it abounds also with all sorts of quadrupedes, as horses, bulls, cows, wild boars, and others, very useful to mankind, not only for food, but for cultivating the ground, and the management of commerce.

Here are vast numbers of wild dogs; these destroy yearly many cattle: for no sooner hath a cow calved, or a mare foaled, but these wild mastiffs devour the young, if they find not resistance from keepers, and domestic dogs. They run up and down the woods and fields, commonly fifty, threescore, or more together, being withal so fierce, that they will often assault an entire herd of wild boars, not ceasing to worry them till they have fetched down two or three. One day a French bucanier shewed me a strange action of this kind: being in the fields a hunting together, we heard a great noise of dogs, which had surrounded a wild boar: having tame dogs with us, we left them to the custody of our servants, being desirous to see the sport. Hence my companion and I climbed up two several trees, both for security and prospect. The wild boar, all alone, stood against a tree, defending himself with his tusks from a great number of dogs that inclosed him, killed with his teeth, and wounded several of them. This bloody fight continued about an hour, the wild boar, mean while, attempting many times to escape; at last flying, one dog leaping upon his back, fastened on his testicles, which



at one pull he tore in pieces. The rest of the dogs, perceiving the courage of their companion, fastened likewise on the boar, and presently killed him. This done, all of them, the first only excepted, laid themselves down upon the ground about the prey, and there peaceably continued, till he, the first and most courageous of the troop, had eat as much as he could : when this dog had left off, all the rest fell in to take their share, till nothing was left. What ought we to infer from this notable action, performed by wild animals, but this, that even beasts themselves are not destitute of knowledge; and that they give us documents how to honour such as have deserved well ; even since these irrational animals did reverence and respect him that exposed his life to the greatest danger against the common enemy ?

The governor of Tortuga, Monsieur Ogeron, finding that the wild dogs killed so many of the wild boars, that the hunters of that island had much ado to find any ; fearing lest that common sustenance of the island should fail, sent for a great quantity of poison from France to destroy the wild mastiffs : this was done anno 1668, by commanding hounds to be killed, and empoisoned, and laid open at certain places where the wild dogs used to resort. This being continued for six months, there were killed an incredible number ; and yet all this could not exterminate and destroy the race, or scarce diminish them, their number appearing almost as large as before. These wild dogs are easily tamed among men, even as tame as ordinary house-dogs. The hunters of those parts, whenever they find a wild bitch with whelps, commonly take away the puppies, and bring them home ; which being grown up, they hunt much better than other dogs.

But



But here the curious reader may perhaps enquire how so many wild dogs came here. The occasion was, the Spaniards having possessed these isles, found them peopled with Indians, a barbarous people, sensual and brutish, hating all labour, and only inclined to killing, and making war against their neighbours, not out of ambition, but only because they agreed not with themselves in some common terms of language, and perceiving the dominion of the Spaniards laid great restrictions upon their lazy and brutish customs, they conceived an irreconcilable hatred against them; but especially because they saw them take possession of their kingdoms and dominions. Hereupon they made against them all the resistance they could, opposing every where their designs to the utmost: and the Spaniards finding themselves cruelly hated by the Indians, and no where secure from their treacheries, resolved to extirpate and ruin them, since they could neither tame them by civility, nor conquer them with the sword. But the Indians, it being their custom to make the woods their chief places of defence, at present made these their refuge, whenever they fled from the Spaniards. Hereupon those first conquerors of the new world made use of dogs to range and search the intricate thickets of woods and forests for those their implacable and unconquerable enemies; thus they forced them to leave their old refuge, and submit to the sword, seeing no milder usage would do it; hereupon they killed some of them, and quartering their bodies, placed them in the highways, that others might take warning from such punishment; but this severity proved of ill consequence, for instead of frightening them and reducing them to civility, they conceived such horror of the Spaniards, that they resolved to detest and fly their sight for ever; hence the greatest part died in caves  
and

and subterraneous places of the woods and mountains, in which places I myself have often seen great numbers of human bones. The Spaniards finding no more Indians to appear about the woods, turned away a great number of dogs they had in their houses, and they finding no masters to keep them, betook themselves to the woods and fields to hunt for food to preserve their lives; thus by degrees they became unacquainted with houses, and grew wild. This is the truest account I can give of the multitudes of wild dogs in these parts.

But besides these wild mastiffs, here are also great numbers of wild horses every where all over the island: they are but low of stature, short bodied, with great heads, long necks, and big or thick legs; in a word, they have nothing handsome in their shape. They run up and down commonly in troops of two or three hundred together, one going always before to lead the multitude. When they meet any person travelling through the woods or fields, they stand still, suffering him to approach till he can almost touch them, and then suddenly starting, they betake themselves to flight, running away as fast as they can. The hunters catch them only for their skins, though sometimes they preserve their flesh likewise, which they harden with smoke, using it for provisions when they go to sea. Here would be also wild bulls and cows in great number, if by continual hunting they were not much diminished; yet considerable profit is made this day by such as make it their business to kill them. The wild bulls are of a vast bigness of body, and yet they hurt not any one except they be exasperated. Their hides are from eleven to thirteen feet long.

The diversity of birds of this island is so great, that I should be troublesome if I should attempt to muster

muster up their species; so that I shall content myself to mention some few of the chief. Here is a certain species of pullets in the woods which the Spaniards call Pintadas, which the inhabitants find to be as good as those bred in houses. Every body knows that the parrots we have in Europe are brought from these parts, whence may be inferred, that seeing such a number of these talkative birds are preserved among us, notwithstanding the diversity of climates, much greater multitudes are to be found where the air and temperament is natural to them. The parrots make their nests in holes of palmito-trees, which holes are before made by other birds; for they are not capable of excavating any wood, though never so soft, having their own bills too crooked and blunt; hence provident nature hath supplied them with the labour of other birds, called carpenters: these are no bigger than sparrows, yet have such hard and piercing bills, that no iron instrument can be made fitter to excavate any tree, though never so solid and hard; and these holes the parrots getting possession of, build in them their nests. There are pigeons of all sorts, which are very useful to the inhabitants: those of this island observe the same seasons we mentioned before, speaking of Tortuga. Betwixt the pigeons of both islands is little or no difference, only that these of Hispaniola are something fatter and bigger. Another sort of small birds here are called Cabrerros, or goat-keepers; these are very like others called Heronistas, and chiefly feed upon crabs of the sea. In these birds are found seven distinct bladders of gall, and their flesh is as bitter as aloes. Crows or ravens more troublesome than useful, do here make a hideous noise through the whole island: their ordinary food is the flesh of wild dogs, or the carcases of those beasts the bucaniers kill and throw away.

The

These clamorous birds no sooner hear the report of a fowling-piece or musket, but they gather from all sides in flocks, and fill the air and woods with their unpleasant notes; they are nothing different from those of Europe.

It is now time to speak of the French who inhabit great part of this island. We have already told how they came first into these parts; we shall now only describe their manner of living, customs, and ordinary employments. The callings or professions they follow are generally but three, either to hunt or plant, or else to rove the seas as pirates. It is a constant custom among them all, to seek out a comrade or companion, whom we may call partner in their fortunes, with whom they join the whole stock of what they possess, towards a common gain. This is done by articles agreed to, and reciprocally signed. Some constitute their surviving companion absolute heir to what is left by the death of the first; others, if they be married, leave their estates to their wives and children; others, to other relations: this done, every one applies himself to his calling, which is always one of the three afore-mentioned.

The hunters are again subdivided into two sorts; for some of these only hunt wild bulls and cows, others only wild boars. The first of these are called bucaniers, and not long ago were about 600 on this island, but now they are reckoned about 300. The cause has been the great decrease of wild cattle, which has been such, that far from getting, they now are but poor in their trade. When the bucaniers go into the woods to hunt for wild bulls and cows, they commonly remain there a twelve-month or two years, without returning home. After the hunt is over, and the spoil divided, they commonly sail to Tortuga, to provide themselves with guns, powder, and shot, and other necessities,



ries for another expedition; the rest of their gain they spend prodigally, giving themselves to all manner of vices and debauchery, particularly to drunkenness, which they practise mostly with brandy; this they drink as liberally as the Spaniards do water: sometimes they buy together a pipe of wine, this they stave at one end, and never cease drinking till it is out. Thus sottishly they live till they have no money left, and as freely gratify their lusts for which they find more women than they can use; for all the tavern-keepers and strumpets wait for these lewd bucaniers, just as they do at Amsterdam for the arrival of the East-India fleet. The said bucaniers are very cruel and tyrannical to their servants, so that commonly they had rather be galley slaves, or saw Brasil wood in the rasp-houses of Holland, than serve such barbarous masters.

The second sort hunt nothing but wild beasts; the flesh of these they salt, and sell it so to the planters. These hunters have the same vicious customs, and are as much addicted to debauchery as the former; but their manner of hunting is different from that in Europe; for these bucaniers have certain places designed for hunting, where they live for three or four months, and sometimes a whole year. Such places are called *Deza Boulans*, and in these, with only the company of five or six friends, they continue all the said time in mutual friendship. The first bucaniers many times agree with planters to furnish them with meat all the year at a certain price; the payment hereof is often made with two or three hundred weight of tobacco in the leaf; but the planters commonly into the bargain furnish them with a servant, whom they send to help; to the servant they afford sufficient necessaries for the purpose, especially of powder and shot to hunt withal.

The

The planters began to cultivate and plant the isle of Tortuga, anno 1598. The first plantation was of tobacco, which grew to admiration, being likewise very good; but by reason of the smallness of the island they could plant but little, there being many pieces of land there that were not fit to produce it. They attempted likewise to make sugar, but by reason of the great expences they could not bring it to any effect; so that the greatest part of the inhabitants, as we said before, betook themselves to hunting, and the remaining part to piracy. At last the hunters finding themselves unable to subsist by that profession, began to seek out lands fit for culture, and in these they also planted tobacco. The first land they chose was Cal de Sac, towards the south part of the island: this ground they divided into several quarters, which were called, the Great Amea, Niep, Rochelois, the Little Grave, the Great Grave, and the Augame. Here they increased so, that now there are above 2000 planters. At first they endured much hardship, because while they were busied about their husbandry, they could not go out of the island for provisions: this hardship was increased by the necessity of grubbing, cutting down, burning and digging, to extirpate the innumerable roots of shrubs and trees; for when the French possessed themselves thereof, it was overgrown with woods very thick, and these only inhabited by wild boars. The method they took was, to divide themselves into small companies of two or three persons together, and these companies to separate far enough from each other, provided with a few hatchets, and some coarse provision: thus they used to go into the woods, and there to build huts only of a few rafters and boughs of trees. They first rooted up the shrubs and little trees, then cut down the great ones; these

these they heaped up, and then set on fire; but they were constrained to grub and dig up the roots as well as they could. The first seed they sowed was beans; these in those countries ripen and dry always in six weeks.

The second fruit necessary to human life, which here they tried, was potatoes; these come not to perfection in less than four or five months. On these they most commonly make their breakfasts; they dress them only by boiling them in a kettle with fair water, then they cover them with cloth for half an hour, whereby they become as soft as boiled chesnuts. Of the said potatoes also they make a drink called maiz; they cut them into small slices, and cover them with hot water; when they are well imbibed, they press them through a coarse cloth, and the liquor that comes, though something thick, they keep in vessels made for that purpose; here, after setting two or three days, it works, and having thrown off its lees, is fit for drink. They use it with great delight; and though the taste is somewhat sour, yet it is very pleasant, substantial and wholesome. The invention of this is owing to the Indians, as well as of many other things, which those barbarians found out for the preservation and pleasure of life.

The third fruit the newly cultivated land afforded was Mandioca, which the Indians call *Cazave*. This root comes not to perfection till after eight or nine months, or perhaps a year; being thoroughly ripe, it may be left in the ground for eleven or twelve months without fear of corruption; but this time past, they must be used one way or other, otherwise they rot. Of these roots is made a sort of granulous flour or meal, dry and white, which supplies the want of common bread of wheat, whereof the fields are altogether barren: for this purpose

For purpose they have certain graters made either of copper or tin, wherewith they grate these roots, just as they do Mirio in Holland. By the bye, let me tell you, Mirio is a root of a very biting taste, like strong mustard, wherewith they make sauces for some sorts of fish. When they have grated as much Cazave root as will serve the turn, they put the gratings into bags or sacks of coarse linen, and press out all the moisture; then they sieve the gratings, leaving them very like saw-dust: the meal thus prepared, they lay on planches of iron made very hot, on which it is converted into very thin cakes; these are placed in the sun, on the tops of houses, to be thoroughly dried; and lest they should lose any part of their meal, what did not pass the sieve is made up in rolls five or six inches thick; these are placed one upon another, and left till they begin to corrupt: of this they make a liquor called Veycou, which they find very excellent, and certainly is not inferior to our English beer.

Bananas are another fruit of which is made excellent liquor, which, in strength and pleasantness of taste, may be compared to the best wines of Spain; but this liquor easily causes drunkenness, and frequently inflames the throat, and produces dangerous diseases in that part. Gulneas Agudos is also another fruit whereof they make drink, but not so strong as the precedent: howbeit, one and the other are frequently mixed with water to quench thirst.

After they had cultivated these plantations with all sorts of roots and fruits necessary for human life, they began to plant tobacco for trade; the manner whereof is thus: they make beds of earth twelve feet square, these they cover with palmito leaves, so that the rays of the sun may not reach the earth; they



they water them when it doth not rain, as we do our gardens in Europe: being grown about the bigness of young lettuce, they transplant it into straight lines in spacious fields, setting every plant three feet distant from each other. The fittest season of the year for these things is from January till the end of March, these being the months wherein most rains fall. Tobacco must be weeded very carefully, seeing the least root of any other herb coming near it hinders its growth. When it is grown to the height of about one foot and a half they cut off the tops to hinder the stalks and leaves from shooting up too high, that the whole plant may receive greater strength from the earth. When it comes to full perfection, they prepare certain apartments of fifty or sixty feet long, and thirty or forty broad; these they fill with poles and rafters and on them lay the green tobacco to dry. When it is thoroughly dried, they strip the leaf from the stalks, and cause it to be rolled up by certain people, who are employed in this work and no other to these they afford for their labour the tenth part of what they make up. This property is peculiar to tobacco, which I shall not omit, that if, while it is in the ground, the leaf be pulled off from the stalk, it sprouts again no less than four times a-year. Here I would also give an account of the manner of making sugar, indico, and gimbes; but seeing these things are not planted in those parts, I pass them over.

The French planters of Hispaniola have always been subject to the governors of Tortuga, but without much reluctance and grudging. In 1664 the West-India company of France laid the foundations of a colony in Tortuga; under which the planters of Hispaniola were comprehended as subjects: this decree disgusted the said planters, who

taking

king it very ill to be reputed subjects to a private company of men, who had no authority to make them so, especially being in a country which belonged not to the king of France; hereupon they resolved to work no longer for the said company; and this resolution was sufficient to compel the company to a total dissolution of the colony. But

last the governor of Tortuga, who was pretty well stocked with planters, conceiving he could more easily force them than the West-India company, found an invention to draw them to his obedience; he promised them he would put off their merchandize, and cause such returns to be made from France as they should like; withal, he dealt with the merchants underhand, that all ships should come consigned to him, and no persons should correspond with those planters of Hispaniola, thinking hereby to avoid many inconveniences, and compel them through want of all things to obey. Thus he not only obtained the obedience he designed, but some merchants, who had promised to deal with them and visit them no longer, did it.

Notwithstanding what hath been said, anno 1669, 20 ships from Holland arrived at Hispaniola with all sorts of merchandize; with these presently the planters resolved to deal, and with the Dutch nation for the future, thinking hereby to withdraw their obedience from the governor of Tortuga, and by frustrating his designs, revenge themselves of what they had endured under his government. Not long after the arrival of the Hollanders, the governor of Tortuga came to visit the plantation of Hispaniola, in a vessel very well armed; but the planters not only forbid him to come ashore, but with their guns forced him to retire faster than he came. Thus the Hollanders began a trade with these people; but such relations and friends as the governor

governor had in Hispaniola, used all the endeavours they were capable of to impede the commerce. This being understood by the planters, they sent them word, 'That in case they laid not aside their artifices for the hindrance of the commerce which was begun with the Hollanders, they should every one assuredly be torn in pieces.' Moreover, to oblige farther the Hollanders, and condemn the governor and his party, they gave greater loadings unto the two ships than they could desire, with many gifts and presents unto the officers and mariners, whereby they sent them very well contented to their own country. The Hollanders came again very punctually according to their promise, and found the planters under a greater indignation than before against the governor, either because of the great satisfaction they had already conceived of this commerce with the Dutch, or that by their means they hoped to subsist by themselves without any farther dependence from the French nation. However it was suddenly after they set up another resolution more strange than the precedent; the tenor whereof was, 'That they would go unto the island of Tortuga, and cut the governor in pieces.' Hereupon they gathered together many canoes as they could, and set sail from Hispaniola, with design not only to kill the governor, but also to possess themselves of the whole island. This they thought they could not but easily perform, by reason of all necessary assistance, which they believed would at any time be sent them from Holland; by which means they were ready determined in their minds to erect themselves into a new commonwealth, independent of the crown of France. But no sooner had they begun this great revolution of their little state, when they received news of a war declared between the two nations

in Europe; this wrought such a consternation in their minds, as caused them to give over that enterprise, and retire without attempting any thing.

In the mean time the governor of Tortuga sent into France for aid towards his own security, and the reduction of those people unto their former obedience; this was granted him, and two men of war were sent unto Tortuga, with orders to be at his command. Having received such a considerable support, he sent them very well equipped to the island of Hispaniola; being arrived at that place, they landed part of the forces, with a design to force the people to the obedience of those whom they hated in their hearts. But the planters seeing the arrival of these two frigates, and not being ignorant of their design, fled into the woods, abandoning their houses, and many of their goods, which they left behind; these were immediately seized, and burnt by the French without compassion, not sparing the least cottage. Afterwards the governor began to relent, and let them know, that if they would return to his obedience he would hearken to an accommodation: hereupon the planters, finding they could expect no relief, surrendered to the governor, upon articles made and signed on both sides; but these were not strictly observed, for he commanded two of the chief of them to be hanged; the residue were pardoned, and withal he gave them free leave to trade with any nation for whatsoever they found necessary. With this liberty they began to recultivate their plantations, which yielded a great quantity of very good tobacco; they selling yearly to the sum of 20 or 30,000 rolls.

The planters here have but very few slaves, for want of which themselves and their servants are constrained to do all the drudgery. These ser-



vants commonly bind themselves to their masters for three years; but their masters having no consciences often traffick with their bodies as with horses at a fair, selling them to other masters as they sell negroes: yea, to advance this trade, some persons go purposely into France (and likewise to England and other countries) to pick up young men or boys, whom they inveigle and transport; and having once got them into these islands, they work them like horses, the toil imposed on them being much harder than what they enjoin the negroes their slaves; for these they endeavour to preserve, being their perpetual bondmen: but for their white servants they care not whether they live or die, seeing they are to serve them no longer than three years. These miserable kidnapped people are frequently subject to a disease, which in these parts is called Coma, being a total privation of their senses. This distemper is judged to proceed from their hard usage, and the change of their native climate; and there being often among these some of good quality, tender education, and soft constitutions, they are more easily seized with this disease, and others of those countries, than those of harder bodies and laborious lives. Beside the hard usage in their diet, apparel, and rest, many times they beat them so cruelly, that they fall down dead under the hands of their cruel masters: this I have often seen with great grief. Of the many instances, I shall only give you the following history, it being very remarkable in its circumstances.

A certain planter of these countries exercised such cruelty towards one of his servants as caused him to run away; having absconded for some days in the woods, at last he was taken, and brought back to the wicked Pharaoh. No sooner had he got him, but he commanded him to be tied to a

tree;

tree ; here he gave him so many lashes on his naked back as made his body run with an entire stream of blood ; then, to make the smart of his wounds the greater, he anointed him with lemon-juice, mixed with salt and pepper ; in this miserable posture he left him tied to the tree for twenty-four hours, which being past, he began his punishment again, lashing him as before, so cruelly that the miserable wretch gave up the ghost, with these dying words :  
 ' I beseech the Almighty God, Creator of heaven  
 ' and earth, that he permit the wicked spirit  
 ' to make thee feel as many torments before thy  
 ' death, as thou hast caused me to feel before mine.'

A strange thing, and worthy of astonishment and admiration ! Scarce three or four days were past, after this horrible fact, when the Almighty judge, who had heard the cries of that tormented wretch, suffered the evil one suddenly to possess this barbarous and inhuman homicide, so that those cruel hands, which had punished to death his innocent servant, were the tormentors of his own body : for he beat himself, and tore his flesh, after a miserable manner till he lost the very shape of a man ; not ceasing to howl and cry, without any rest by day or night. Thus he continued raving mad till he died. Many other examples of this kind I could rehearse ; but these not belonging to our present discourse, I omit them.

The planters of the Caribee Islands are rather worse and more cruel to their servants than the former. In the isle of St. Christopher dwells one named Bettefa, well known to the Dutch merchants, who has killed above a hundred of his servants with blows and stripes. The English do the same with their servants, and the mildest cruelty they exercise towards them is, that when they have served six years of their time (they being bound

among the English for seven) they use them so cruelly as to force them to beg of their masters to sell them to others, though it be to begin another servitude of seven years, or at least three or four; and I have known many, who have thus served fifteen or twenty years before they could obtain their freedom. Another law, very rigorous in that nation, is if any man owes another above twenty-five shillings English, if he cannot pay it, he is liable to be sold for six or eight months. Not to trouble the reader any longer with relations of this kind, I shall now describe the famous actions and exploits of the greatest pirates of my time, during my residence in those parts; these I shall relate without the least passion or partiality, and assure my reader, that I shall give him no stories upon trust or hear-say, but only those enterprizes to which I was myself an eye-witness.

#### C H A P. VI.

*Of the original of the most famous pirates of the coasts of America. A famous exploit of Pierre le Grand.*

I HAVE told you, in the preceding chapters, how I was compelled to adventure my life among the pirates of America; which sort of men I name so, because they are not authorized by any sovereign prince: for the kings of Spain having on several occasions sent their ambassadors to the kings of England and France, ‘ To complain of the molestations and troubles those pirates often caused on the coasts of America, even in the calm of peace;’ it hath always been answered, ‘ That such men did not commit those acts of hostility and piracy as subjects to their majesties; and therefore his catholic majesty  
‘ might

‘ might proceed against them as he should think fit.’ The king of France added, ‘ That he had no fortress nor castle upon Hispaniola, neither did he receive a farthing of tribute from thence.’ And the king of England adjoined, ‘ That he had never given any commissions to those of Jamaica, to commit hostilities against the subjects of his catholic majesty.’ Nor did he only give this bare answer, but out of his royal desire to please the court of Spain, recalled the governor of Jamaica, placing another in his room; all which could not prevent these pirates from acting as heretofore. But before I relate their bold actions, I shall say something of their rise and exercises; as also of the chiefest of them, and their manner of arming themselves before they put to sea.

The first pirate that was known upon Tortuga, was Pierre le Grand, or Peter the Great; he was born at Dieppe in Normandy. That action which rendered him famous was his taking the vice-admiral of the Spanish Flota, near the cape of Tiburon, on the west side of Hispaniola; this he performed with only one boat, and twenty-eight men. Now till that time the Spaniards had passed and repassed with all security through the channel of Bahama; so that Pierre le Grand setting out to sea by the Caycos, he took this great ship with all the ease imaginable. The Spaniards they found aboard they set ashore, and sent the vessel to France. The manner how this undaunted spirit attempted and took this large ship, I shall give you out of the journal of the author in his own words: ‘ The boat,’ says he, ‘ wherein Pierre le Grand was with his companions, had been at sea a long time without finding any prize worth his taking; and their provisions beginning to fail, they were in danger of starving. Being almost reduced to despair they spied a great ship



of the Spanish Flota, separated from the rest; this vessel they resolved to take or die in the attempt: hereupon they sailed towards her, to view her strength; and though they judged the vessel to be superior to theirs, yet their covetousness, and the extremity they were reduced to, made them venture. Being come so near that they could not possibly escape, they made an oath to their captain Pierre le Grand to stand by him to the last. It is true, the pirates did believe they should find the ship unprovided to fight, and thereby the sooner master her. It was in the dusk of the evening they began to attack; but before they engaged, they ordered the surgeon of the boat to bore a hole in the sides of it, that their own vessel sinking under them, they might be more compelled to attack more vigorously, and endeavour more hastily to board the ship. This was done accordingly; and without any other arms than pistol in one hand and a sword in the other, they immediately climbed up the sides of the ship, and ran altogether into the great cabin, where they found the captain, with several of his companions, playing at cards: here they set a pistol to his breast, commanding him to deliver up the ship. The Spaniards, surprized to see the pirates aboard their ship, cried, "Jesus blefs us! are these devils, or what are they?" Mean while some of them took possession of the gun-room, and seized the arms, killing as many as made any opposition; whereupon the Spaniards presently surrendered. That very day the captain of the ship had been told by some of the seamen, that the boat which was in view cruising, was a boat of pirates; whom the captain slightly answered, "What then must I be afraid of such a pitiful thing as that is? No, though she were a ship as big and as strong as mine is."

As

As soon as Pierre le Grand had taken this rich prize, he detained in his service as many common seamen as he had need of, setting the rest ashore, and then set sail for France, where he continued, without ever returning to America again.

The planters and hunters of Tortuga had no sooner heard of the rich prize those pirates had taken, but they resolved to follow their example: hereupon many of them left their employments, and endeavoured to get some small boats, wherein to exercise piracy; but not being able to purchase, or build them at Tortuga, they resolved to set forth in their canoes, and seek them elsewhere. With these they cruized at first upon cape de Alvarez, where the Spaniards used to trade from one city to another in small vessels, in which they carry hides, tobacco, and other commodities to the Havanna, and to which the Spaniards from Europe do frequently resort.

Here it was that those pirates at first took a great many boats laden with the aforesaid commodities; these they used to carry to Tortuga, and sell the whole purchase to the ships that wait for their return, or accidentally happened to be there. With the gains of these prizes they provided themselves with necessaries, wherewith to undertake other voyages, some of which were made to Campeachy, and others towards New Spain; in both which the Spaniards then drove a great trade. Upon those coasts they found great numbers of trading vessels, and often ships of great burden. Two of the biggest of these vessels, and two great ships which the Spaniards had laden with plate in the port of Campeachy, to go to the Caraccas, they took in less than a month's time, and carried to Tortuga; where the people of the whole island, encouraged by their success, especially seeing in two years the riches of the country so much increased,

increased, they augmented the number of pirates so fast, that in a little time there were in that small island and port, above twenty ships of this sort of people. Hereupon the Spaniards, not able to bear their robberies any longer, equipped two large men of war, both for the defence of their own coast, and to cruize upon the enemies.

## C H A P. VII.

*How the pirates arm their vessels, and regulate their voyages.*

**B**EFORE the pirates go to sea, they give notice to all concerned of the day on which they are to embark; obliging each man to bring so many pounds of powder and ball as they think necessary. Being all come aboard, they consider where to get provisions, especially flesh, seeing they scarce eat any thing else; and of this the most common sort is pork; the next food is tortoises, which they salt a little: sometimes they rob such or such hog-yards, where the Spaniards oft have a thousand heads of swine together. They come to these places in the night, and having beset the keeper's lodge, they force him to rise, and give them as many heads as they desire, threatening to kill him if he refuses, or make any noise: and these menaces are oftentimes executed on the miserable swine-keepers, or any other person that endeavours to hinder their robberies.

Having got flesh sufficient for their voyage, they return to their ship: here they allow, twice a day, every one as much as he can eat, without weight or measure; nor does the steward of the vessel give any more flesh, or any thing else, to the captain than to the meanest mariner. The ship being well victualled, they deliberate whither they shall go to seek their  
desperat

desperate fortunes, and likewise agree upon certain articles, which are put in writting, which every one is bound to observe; and all of them, or the chiefest part, do set their hands to it. Here they set down distinctly, what sums of money each particular person ought to have for that voyage, the fund of all the payments being what is gotten by the whole expedition; for otherwise it is the same law among these people, as with other pirates, 'No prey no pay.' First, therefore, they mention how much the captain is to have for his ship; next the salary of the carpenter or shipwright who careened, mended, and rigged the vessel: this commonly amounts to 100 or 150 pieces of eight, according to the agreement. Afterwards, for provisions and victualling, they draw out of the same common stock about 200 pieces of eight; also a salary for the surgeon, and his chest of medicaments, which usually is rated at 200 or 250 pieces of eight. Lastly, they agree what rate each one ought to have that is either wounded or maimed in his body, suffering the loss of any limb; as, for the loss of a right arm, 600 pieces of eight, or six slaves; for the left arm 500 pieces of eight, or five slaves; for a right leg, 500 pieces of eight, or five slaves; for the left leg, 400 pieces of eight, or four slaves; for an eye, 100 pieces of eight, or one slave; for a finger the same as for an eye: all which sums are taken out of the common stock of what is gotten by their piracy, and a very exact and equal dividend is made of the remainder. They have also regard to qualities and places: thus the captain or chief is allotted five or six portions, to what the ordinary seamen have; the master's mate only two, and other officers proportionably to their employ: after which they draw equal parts from the highest to the lowest mariner, the boys not being omitted, who draw half a share; because when they



take a better vessel than their own, it is the boys duty to fire their former vessel, and then retire to the prize.

They observe among themselves very good orders; for in the prizes which they take, it is severely prohibited, to every one, to take any thing to themselves: hence all they take is equally divided, as hath been said before; yea, they take a solemn oath to each other, not to conceal the least thing they find among the prizes; and if any one is found false to the said oath, he is immediately turned out of the society. They are very civil and charitable to each other; so that if any one wants what another has, with great willingness they give it one to another. As soon as these pirates have taken a prize, they immediately set ashore the prisoners, detaining only some few, for their own help and service; whom also they release after two or three years. They refresh themselves at one island or another, but especially at those on the south of Cuba: here they careen their vessels, while some hunt, and others cruize in Canoes for prize. Many times they take the poor tortoise fishermen, and make them work during their pleasure.

In the several parts of America are found four distinct species of tortoises: the first are so great, that they weigh two or three thousand pounds; the scales are so soft that they may be cut with a knife; but these are not good to eat. The second sort is of an indifferent bigness, and of a green colour; their scales are harder than the first, and of a very pleasant taste. The third is little different in size from the second, only the head something bigger; it is called by the French Cavana, and is not good meat. The fourth is named Caret, being very like those of Europe: this sort keeps commonly among the rocks, whence they crawl out for their food, which is generally sea-apples;

apples: those other above mentioned feed on grass, which grows in the water on the sandy banks: these banks or shelves, for their pleasant green, resemble the delightful meadows of the United Provinces. Their eggs are almost like those of the crocodile, but without any shell, being only covered with a thin film; they are found in such prodigious quantities along the shores, that were they not frequently destroyed by birds, the sea would abound with tortoises.

These creatures have certain places where they lay their eggs every year; the chief are the three islands called Caymanes, in 20 deg. 15 min. lat. being 45 leagues north of Cuba.

It is worth considering how the tortoises find these islands; for the greatest part come from the gulf of Honduras, 150 leagues off; and many times the ships having lost their latitude, through the darkness of the weather, steer only by the noise the tortoises make in swimming, and reach those isles. When the season of hatching is past, they retire to Cuba, which affords them good food; but while they are at the Caymanes they eat little or nothing. When they have been a month in the seas of Cuba, and are grown fat, the Spaniards fish for them, being then to be taken in such abundance, that they furnish their cities, towns, and villages with them. The way they take them is, by making with a great nail a kind of dart; this they fix at the end of a long pole, with which they kill the tortoises whenever they appear above the water.

The inhabitants of New Spain and Campeachy load their best merchandise in ships of great bulk: the vessels from Campeachy sail in the winter to Caraccas, Trinity-Isles, and that of Margarita, and return back again in the summer. The pirates knowing these seasons (being very diligent in their enquiries)

enquiries) always cruize between the places above-mentioned; but in case they light of no considerable booty, they commonly undertake some more hazardous enterprizes; one remarkable instance of which I shall here give you: a certain pirate called Pierre François, or Peter Francis, waiting a long time at sea with his boat and twenty-six men, for the ships that were to return from Maracaibo to Campeachy, and not being able to find any prey, at last he resolved to direct his course to Rancheiras, near the river de la Plata, in 12 deg. and a half north latitude. Here lies a rich bank of pearl, to the fishery whereof they yearly sent from Carthagena twelve vessels, with a man of war for their defence. Every vessel has at least two negroes in it, who are very dextrous in diving to the depth of six fathoms, where they find good store of pearls. On this fleet, called the pearl-fleet, Pierre François resolved to venture, rather than go home empty; they then rid at anchor at the mouth of the river de la Hacha, the man of war scarce half a league distant from the small ships, and the wind very calm. Having spied them in this posture, he presently pulled down his sails, and rowed along the coast, feigning to be a Spanish vessel come from Maracaibo; but no sooner was he come to the pearl-bank, when suddenly he assaulted the vice-admiral of eight guns and sixty men, commanding them to surrender. The Spaniards made a good defence for some time, but at last were forced to submit. Having thus taken the vice-admiral, he resolved to attempt the man of war, with which addition he hoped to master the rest of the fleet: to this end he presently sunk his own boat; putting forth the Spanish colours, and weighed anchor with a little wind which then began to stir, having with threats and promises compelled most of the Spaniards to assist him.

him. But so soon as the man of war perceived one of his fleet to sail, he did so too, fearing lest the mariners designed to run away with the riches they had on board. The pirate on this immediately gave over the enterprize, thinking themselves unable to encounter force to force; hereupon they endeavoured to get out of the river and gain the open seas, by making as much sail as they could; which the man of war perceiving, he presently gave them chase, but the pirates having laid on too much sail, and a gulf of wind suddenly rising, their main-mast was brought by the board, which disabled them from escaping.

This unhappy event much encouraged those in the man of war, they gaining upon the pirates every moment, and at last overtook them; but they finding they had twenty-two found men, the rest being either killed or wounded, resolved to defend themselves as long as possible; this they performed very courageously for some time, till they were forced by the man of war, on condition that they should not be used as slaves to carry stones, or be employed in other labours for three or four years, as they served their negroes, but that they should be set safe ashore on free land. On these articles they yielded with all they had taken, which was worth, in pearls alone, above 100,000 pieces of eight, besides the vessel, provisions, goods, &c. All which would have made this a greater prize than he could desire, which he had certainly carried off, if his main-mast had not been lost, as we said before.

Another bold attempt like this, nor less remarkable, I shall also give you. A certain pirate of Portugal, thence called Bartholomew Portugues, was cruising in a boat of thirty men and four small guns, from Jamaica, upon the cape de Corriente in Cuba, where he met a great ship from Maracaibo and Carthagena,



Carthagena, bound for the Havanna, well provided with twenty great guns and seventy men, passengers and mariners; this ship he presently assaulted, which they on board as resolutely defended. The pirate escaping the first encounter, resolved to attack her more vigorously than before, seeing he had yet suffered no great damage: this he performed with so much resolution, that at last, after a long and dangerous fight, he became master of it. The Portuguese lost only ten men, and had four wounded, so that he had still remaining twenty fighting men, whereas the Spaniards had double the number. Having possessed themselves of the ship, the wind being contrary to return to Jamaica, they resolved to steer to Cape St. Anthony (which lies west of Cuba) there to repair and take in fresh water, of which they were then in great want.

Being very near the cape abovesaid, they unexpectedly met with three great ships coming from New Spain, and bound for the Havanna: by these, not being able to escape, they were easily retaken, both ship and pirates, and all made prisoners, and stripped of all the riches they had taken but just before. The cargo consisted in 120,000 weight of cocoa nuts, the chief ingredients of chocolate, and 70,000 pieces of eight. Two days after this misfortune there arose a great storm, which separated the ships from one another. The great vessel, where the pirates were, arrived at Campeachy, where many considerable merchants came and saluted the captain; these presently knew the Portuguese pirate, being infamous for the many insolencies, robberies, and murders he had committed on their coasts, which they kept fresh in their memory.

The next day after their arrival, the magistrates of the city sent to demand the prisoners from on board the ship, in order to punish them according

their deserts; but fearing the captain of the  
ates should make his escape (as he had formerly  
ne, being their prisoner once before) they judged  
safer to leave him guarded on ship-board for the  
esent, while they erected a gibbet to hang him  
the next day, without any other process than  
lead him from the ship to his punishment; the  
mour of which was presently brought to Bartho-  
new Portugues, whereby he sought all possible  
eans to escape that night. With this design he  
ok two earthen jars, wherein the Spaniards carry  
ne from Spain to the West-Indies, and stopped  
em very well, intending to use them for swim-  
ing, as those unskilled in that art do corks or  
pty bladders. Having made this necessary pre-  
eration, he waited when all should be asleep;  
t not being able to escape his centinel's vigilance,  
stabbed him with a knife he had secretly pur-  
ased, and then threw himself into the sea with  
e earthen jars before-mentioned, by the help of  
hich, though he never learned to swim, he  
ached the shore, and immediately took to the  
oods, where he hid himself for three days, not  
ring to appear, eating no other food than wild  
rbs.

Those of the city next day made diligent search  
r him in the woods, where they concluded him  
be: this strict enquiry Portugues saw from the  
ollow of a tree, wherein he lay hid; and upon  
eir return he made the best of his way to del  
olpho Triste, forty leagues from Campeachy,  
here he arrived within a fortnight after his escape;  
ring which time, as also afterwards, he endured  
xtreme hunger and thirst, having no other provi-  
on with him than a small calabaca with a little wa-  
r, besides the fears of falling again into the hands  
the Spaniards. He eat nothing but a few shell-  
fish,

fish, which he found among the rocks near the shore; and being obliged to pass some rivers, not knowing well how to swim, he found at last an old board which the waves had driven ashore, where were a few great nails; these he took, and with small labour whetted on a stone, till he had made them like knives, though not so well; with these and nothing else, he cut down some branches of trees, which with twigs and osiers he joined together, and made as well as he could a boat to waite him over the rivers. Thus arriving at the cape of Golpho Triste, as was said, he found a vessel of pirates, comrades of his own, lately come from Malacca.

To these he related all his adversities and misfortunes, and withal desired they would fit him with a boat and twenty men, with which company alone he promised to return to Campeachy, and assault the ship that was in the river, by which he had been taken fourteen days before. They presently granted his request, and equipped him a boat accordingly. With this small company he set out to execute his design, which he bravely performed eight days after he left Golpho Triste; for being arrived at Campeachy, with an undaunted courage and without any noise, he assaulted the said ship; those on board thought it was a boat from land that came to bring contraband goods, and so were in no posture of defence; which opportunity the pirates laying hold of, assaulted them so resolutely that in a little time they compelled the Spaniards to surrender.

Being masters of the ship, they immediately weighed anchor and set sail from the port, lest they should be pursued by other vessels: this they did with the utmost joy, seeing themselves possessors of so brave a ship, especially Portugues, who by a se-

and turn of fortune was become rich and powerful again, who was so lately in that same vessel a prisoner, condemned to be hanged. With this purchase he designed greater things, which he might have done, since there remained in the vessel so great a quantity of rich merchandise, though the mate had been sent to the city: but while he was making his voyage to Jamaica, near the Isle of Pinos, on the south of Cuba, a terrible storm arose, which drove against the Jardines rocks, where she was lost; but Portuguese with his companions escaped in a canoe, in which he arrived at Jamaica, where it was not long ere he went on new adventures, but was never fortunate after.

Nor less considerable are the actions of another privateer who now lives at Jamaica, who on several occasions has performed very surprizing things. He was born at Groninghen in the United Provinces: his own name not being known, his companions gave him that of Roche Brasilliano, by reason of his long residence in Brasil: hence he was forced to fly, when the Portuguese retook those countries from the Dutch, several nations then inhabiting at Brasil (as English, French, Dutch, and others) being constrained to seek new fortunes.

This person fled to Jamaica, where being at a loss how to get his living, he entered himself into the society of pirates, where he served as a private mariner for some time, and behaved himself so well, that he was beloved and respected by all. One day some of the mariners quarrelled with their captain to that degree, that they left the boat; Brasilliano following them, was chose their leader, who having fitted out a small vessel, they made him captain.

Within a few days after he took a great ship coming from New Spain, which had a great quantity,

city of plate on board, and carried it to Jamaica. This action got him a great reputation at home, and though in his private affairs he governed himself very well, he would oftentimes appear brutal and foolish when in drink, running up and down the streets, beating or wounding those he met, no person daring to make any resistance.

To the Spaniards he was always very barbarous and cruel, out of an inveterate hatred against the nation; of these he commanded several to be roasting alive on wooden spits, for not shewing him his yards where he might steal swine. After many of these cruelties, as he was cruising on the coast of Campeachy, a dismal tempest surprized him so violently, that his ship was wrecked upon the coast, the mariners only escaping with their muskets, and some few bullets and powder, which were the only things they could save. The ship was lost between Campeachy and the Golpho Triste; here they got ashore in a canoe, and marching along the coast with all the speed they could, they directed their course towards Golpho Triste, the common refuge of the pirates. Being upon his journey, and very hungry and thirsty, as is usual in desert places, they were pursued by a troop of 100 Spaniards. Brasilliano perceiving their imminent danger, encouraged his companions, telling them, 'They were better soldiers, and ought rather to die under their arms fighting, as it became men of courage, than surrender to the Spaniards, who would take away their lives with the utmost torments.' The pirates were but thirty, yet seeing their brave commander oppose the enemy with such courage, resolved to do the like: hereupon they faced the troop of Spaniards, and discharged their muskets at them so dextrously, that they killed one horseman almost with every shot. The fight continued for



ur, till at last the Spaniards were put to  
They stripped the dead, and took from  
what was most for their use; such as were  
quite dead they dispatched with the ends of  
muskets.

ving vanquished the enemy, they mounted on  
they found in the field, and continued their  
ey: Brasillano having lost but two of his com-  
ons in this bloody fight, and had two wounded.  
cuting their way, before they came to the  
they spied a boat at anchor from Campeachy,  
manned, protecting a few canoes that were  
g wood; hereupon they sent six of their men  
atch them, who next morning by a wile pos-  
themselves of the canoes. Having given no-  
to their companions, they boarded them, and  
took the little man of war, their convoy. Be-  
thus masters of this fleet, they wanted only  
sions, of which they found little aboard those  
s; but this defect was supplied by the horses  
h they killed and salted with salt, which by  
fortune the wood-cutters had brought with  
with which they supported themselves till  
could get better.

hey took also another ship going from New  
to Maracaibo, laden with divers sorts of  
handise and pieces of eight, designed to buy  
nuts for their lading home: all these they  
ed to Jamaica, where they safely arrived, and,  
ding to custom, wasted all in a few days in  
ns and stews, giving themselves to all manner  
bauchery. Such of these pirates will spend two  
ree thousand pieces of eight in a night, not  
g themselves a good shirt to wear in the  
ing. I saw one of them give a common strum-  
oo pieces of eight to see her naked. My own  
er would buy sometimes a pipe of wine, and  
placing

placing it in the street, would force those that by to drink with him, threatening also to them if they would not. He would do the with barrels of beer or ale, and very often he throw these liquors about the streets, and wear ple's cloaths, without regarding whether he spo their apparel.

Among themselves these pirates are very liberal if any one has lost all, which often happens in manner of life, they freely give him of what have. In taverns and alehouses they have credit; but at Jamaica they ought not to run deep in debt, seeing the inhabitants there easily one another for debt. This happened to my tron, to be sold for a debt of a tavern, where had spent the greatest part of his money. This man had within three months before 3000 pieces eight in ready cash, all which he wasted in little time, and became as poor as I have told you.

But to return: Brasillano, after having spent was forced to go to sea again to seek his fortune; he set forth towards the coast of Campeachy, a common rendezvous; fifteen days after his arrival he put himself into a canoe to espy the port of the city, and see if he could rob any Spanish vessel; but his fortune was so bad, that both he and all his men were taken and carried before the governor, who immediately cast them into a dungeon, intending to hang them every one; and doubtless he had done so, but for a stratagem of Brasillano, who saved their lives. He wrote a letter to the governor, in the names of other pirates that were at sea, telling him, 'He should have a care not to hurt those persons he had in custody, for if he hurt them in the least, they swore they would never give quarter to any Spaniard that should fall into their hands.'

These pirates having been often at Campeachy, other places of the West-Indies in the Spanish Colonies, the governor feared what mischief their Colonies abroad might do, if he should punish them hereupon he released them, exacting only an oath from them, that they would leave their exercise of piracy for ever; and withal he sent them as prizes on mariners in the galleons to Spain. They on this voyage, all together, 500 pieces of silver, so that they tarried not long there after their arrival; providing themselves with necessaries, they sailed to Jamaica, from whence they set forth to sea, committing greater robberies and cruelties than before, but especially abusing the poor Spaniards who fell into their hands with all sort of cruelty.

The Spaniards, finding they could gain nothing from these people, nor diminish their number, daily endeavored to lessen the number of their trading ships: but neither was this of any service; for the pirates, seeing few ships at sea, began to gather into companies, and to land on their dominions, ruining towns, and villages, pillaging, burning, and carrying away as much as they could.

The first pirate who began these invasions by sea was Lewis Scot, who sacked the city of Campeachy, which he almost ruined, robbing and destroying all he could, and after he had put it to an absolute ransom, he left it. After Scot came another named Mansvelt, who invaded Granada, and extended even to the South-Sea, till at last, for want of provision, he was forced to go back. He sacked the isle of St. Catharine, which he took, and carried off a few prisoners: these directed him to Carthage, a principal city in Nueva Granada. But the attempts and actions of John Davis, born at Weymouth, ought not to be forgotten, being some of the

the most remarkable, especially his rare prudence and valour shewed in the fore-mentioned kingdome of Granada. This pirate having long cruised in the gulf of Pocatauro, on the ships expected to Cartagena, bound for Nicaragua, and not meeting them, resolved at last to land in Nicaragua, where his ship hid on the coast.

This design he soon executed; for taking men out of 90, which he had in all, and the rest left to keep the ship, he divided them equally into three canoes: his intent was to rob the churches and rattle the houses of the chief citizens of Nicaragua. Thus, in the dark night they entered the river leading to that city, rowing in their canoes by day they hid themselves and boats under the branches of trees, on the banks, which grow thick along the river sides in those countries along the sea-coast. Being arrived at the city on the third night, the centinel who kept the post on the river thought them to be fishermen that had come fishing in the lake; and most of the pirates being standing Spanish, he doubted not, as soon as he heard them speak. They had in their company an Indian who had run away from his master, who would have enslaved him unjustly: he went ashore, and instantly killed the centinel; then they entered the city, and went directly to the four houses of the chief citizens, where they knocked softly; these believing them to be friends, opened the doors, and the pirates suddenly possessing themselves of the houses, stole all the money and what they could find. Nor did they spare the churches and most sacred things, all which were pillaged and profaned without any respect or veneration.

Mean while, great cries and lamentations were heard of some who had escaped them; so that the whole city was in an uproar, and all the citizens

ed in order to a defence; which the pirates perceiving, they instantly fled, carrying away their booty, and some prisoners: these they led away, lest if any of them should be taken by the Spaniards, they might use them for ransom. Thus they got to their ship, and with all speed put to sea, taking the prisoners, before they let them go, to secure them as much flesh as was necessary for their voyage to Jamaica. But no sooner had they weighed anchor, when they saw a troop of about 500 Spaniards, all well armed, at the sea-side; against these they let fly several guns, wherewith they forced them to quit the sands, and retire with no small regret, to see these pirates carry away so much plate from their churches and houses, though distant at least many leagues from the sea.

These pirates got, on this occasion, above 4000 pieces of eight in money, besides much plate and many jewels, in all to the value of 50,000 pieces of eight, or more. With all this they arrived at Jamaica soon after. But this sort of people being no longer masters of their money, they were soon constrained to seek more by the same means; and Captain John Davis, presently after his return, was sent admiral of seven or eight vessels, he being esteemed an able conductor for such enterprizes.

He began his new command by directing his course to the north of Cuba, there to wait for the fleet from New Spain; but missing his design, they determined for Florida: being arrived there, they ordered their men, and sacked a small city named Augustine of Florida. The castle had a garison of 200 men, but could not prevent the pillage of the city, they effecting it without the least damage to the soldiers or townsmen.

Thus we have spoken, in the first part of this book, of the constitution of Hispaniola and Tortuga,



tuga, their properties and inhabitants, as also of the fruits: in the second part we shall describe the actions of the two most famous pirates, who committed many horrible crimes and inhumanities upon the Spaniards.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Of the origin of Francis Lolonois, and the beginning of his robberies.*

**F**RANCIS Lolonois was a native of that territory in France which is called Les Sables d'Olonne, or the Sands of Olone: in his youth he was transported to the Caribbee islands, in quality of a servant or slave, according to custom, of which we have already spoken. Being out of his time, he came to Hispaniola; here he joined for some time with the hunters, before he began his robberies upon the Spaniards, which I shall now relate, to his unfortunate death.

At first he made two or three voyages as a common mariner, wherein he behaved himself so courageously, as to gain the favour of the governor of Tortuga, Monsieur de la Place, insomuch that he gave him a ship, in which he might seek his fortune, which was very favourable to him at first; in a short time he got great riches: but his cruelties against the Spaniards were such, that the fear of them made him so well known throughout the Indies, that the Spaniards, in his time, would choose rather to die, or sink fighting, than surrender, knowing they should have no mercy at his hands. But Fortune, being seldom constant, at some time turned her back; for in a huge storm he lost his ship on the coast of Campeachy. The crew were all saved, but coming upon dry land, the Spaniards

Spaniards pursued them, and killed the greatest part, wounding also Lolonois. Not knowing how to escape, he saved his life by a stratagem: mingling sand with the blood of his wounds, with which delineating his face and other parts of his body, and hiding himself dextrously among the dead, he continued there till the Spaniards quitted the field.

They being gone, he retired to the woods, and bound up his wounds as well as he could: these being pretty well healed, he took his way to Cambrachy, having disguised himself in a Spanish habit. Here he enticed certain slaves, to whom he promised liberty, if they would obey him, and trust to his conduct. They accepted his promises, and stealing a canoe, they went to sea with him. Now the Spaniards having made several of his companions prisoners, kept them close in a dungeon, while Lolonois went about the town, and saw what passed. These were often asked, 'What is become of your captain?' To whom they constantly answered, 'He is dead.' Which rejoiced the Spaniards, who made bonfires, and, knowing nothing to the contrary, gave thanks to God for their deliverance from such a cruel pirate. Lolonois having on these rejoicings for his death, made haste to escape, with the slaves above-mentioned, and came to Tortuga, the common refuge of all sorts of wickedness, and the seminary, as it were, of pirates and thieves. Though now his fortune was low, he got another ship with craft and subtlety, and with it 21 men. Being well provided with arms and necessaries, he set forth for Cuba, on the south whereof is a small village called de los Cayos. The inhabitants drive a great trade in tobacco, sugar, and hides, and all in boats, not being able to build ships, by reason of the little depth of that sea.

Lolonois was persuaded he should get here for considerable prey; but by the good fortune of some fishermen who saw him, and the mercy of God they escaped him: for the inhabitants of the town dispatched immediately a messenger over land to the Havanna, complaining that Lolonois was come to destroy them with two canoes. The governor could very hardly believe this, having received letters from Campeachy that he was dead: but by their importunity he sent a ship to their relief, with ten guns, and ninety men, well armed; giving them this express command, 'That they should return into his presence without having totally destroyed those pirates.' To this effect, he gave them a negro to serve for a hangman, and ordered 'That they should immediately hang every one of the pirates, excepting Lolonois, their captain, whom they should bring alive to the Havanna.' This ship arrived at Cayos, of whose coming the pirates were advertized beforehand, and instead of flying, went to seek it in the river Estera, where she rode at anchor. The pirates seized some fishermen, and forced them by night to shew them the entry of the port, hoping soon to obtain a greater vessel than their two canoes, and thereby to make their fortune. They arrived, after two in the morning, very nigh the ship, and the watch-board the ship asking them, 'Whence they came, and if they had seen any pirates abroad?' they caused one of the prisoners to answer, 'They had seen no pirates, nor any thing else.' Which answer made them believe that they were fled upon hearing of their coming.

But they soon found the contrary; for about break of day the pirates assaulted the vessel on both sides with their two canoes, with such vigour, that though the Spaniards behaved themselves as

ought, and made as good defence as they could, making some use of their great guns, yet they were forced to surrender, being beaten by the pirates, with sword in hand, down under the hatches. From hence Lolonois commanded them to be brought up, one by one, and in this order caused their heads to be struck off. Among the rest came the negro, designed to be the pirates executioner; this fellow implored mercy at his hands very dolefully, telling Lolonois he was constituted angman of that ship, and if he would spare him, he would tell him faithfully all that he should desire. Lolonois making him confess what he thought, commanded him to be murdered with the rest. Thus he cruelly and barbarously put them all to death, reserving only one alive, whom he sent back to the governor of the Havanna, with this message in writing: 'I shall never henceforward give quarter to any Spaniard whatsoever; and I have great hopes I shall execute on your own person the very same punishment I have done upon them you sent against me. Thus I have retaliated the kindness you designed to me and my companions.' The governor, much troubled at this sad news, swore in the presence of many, that he would never grant quarter to any pirate that should fall into his hands. But the citizens of the Havanna desired him not to persist in the execution of that rash and rigorous oath, seeing the pirates would certainly take occasion from thence to do the same, and they had an hundred times more opportunity of revenge than they: that being necessitated to get their livelihood by fishery, they should hereafter always be in danger of their lives. By these reasons he was persuaded to bridle his anger, and remit the severity of his oath.

Now Lolonois had got a good ship, but very few provisions and people in it; to purchase both which, he resolved to cruize from one port to another. Doing thus for some time, without success, he determined to go to the port of Maracaibo: here he surprized a ship laden with plate and other merchandizes, outward bound to buy cocoa-nuts. With this prize he returned to Tortuga, where he was received with joy by the inhabitants, they congratulating his happy success and their own private interest. He staid not long there, but designed to equip a fleet sufficient to transport good men and necessaries. Thus provided, he resolved to pillage both cities, towns, and villages, and finally, to take Maracaibo itself. For this purpose he knew the island of Tortuga would afford him many resolute and courageous men, fit for such enterprizes; besides, he had in his service several prisoners well acquainted with the ways and places designed upon.

C H A P. IX.

*Lolonois equips a fleet to land upon the Spanish island of America, with intent to rob, sack, and burn whatsoever he met with.*

OF this design Lolonois giving notice to all the pirates, whether at home or abroad, he gathered together, in a little while, above 400 men; besides which, there was then in Tortuga another pirate named Michael de Basco, who, by his piracy, had got riches sufficient to live at ease, and go no more abroad; having, withal, the office of major of the island. But seeing the great preparations that Lolonois made for this expedition, he joined him, and offered him, that if he would make him his chief



tain by land (seeing he knew the country very well, and all its avenues) he would share in his fortunes, and go with him. They agreed upon articles, to the great joy of Lolonois, knowing that Basco had done great actions in Europe, and had the repute of a good soldier. Thus they all embarked in eight vessels, that of Lolonois being the greatest, having ten guns of indifferent carriage.

All things being ready, and the whole company on board, they set sail together about the end of April, being in all 660 persons. They steered for that part called Bayala, north of Hispaniola; here they took into their company some French hunters, who voluntarily offered themselves, and here they provided themselves with victuals and necessaries for their voyage.

From hence they sailed again the last of July, and steered directly to the eastern cape of the isle called punta d'Espada. Hereabouts espying a ship from Puerto Rico, bound for New Spain, laden with copanuts, Lolonois commanded the rest of the fleet to wait for him near Savona, on the east of Cape punta d'Espada, he alone intending to take the said vessel. The Spaniards, though they had been in sight full two hours, and knew them to be pirates, yet would not flee, but prepared to fight, being well armed and provided. The combat lasted three hours, and then they surrendered. This ship had 6 guns and 50 fighting men aboard: they found her 120,000 weight of cocoa, 40,000 pieces of silver, and the value of 10,000 more in jewels. Lolonois sent the vessel presently to Tortuga to be unladen, with orders to return as soon as possible to Savona, where he would wait for them. Meanwhile the rest of the fleet being arrived at Savona, yet another Spanish vessel coming from Coman, with military provisions to Hispaniola, and money

to pay the garisons there. This vessel they also took without any resistance, though mounted with eight guns. In it were 7000 weight of powder, a great number of muskets, and like things with 12,000 pieces of eight.

These successes encouraged the pirates, they seeming very lucky beginnings, especially finding their fleet pretty well recruited in a little time: for the first ship arriving at Tortuga, the governor ordered it to be instantly unladen, and soon after sent back, with fresh provisions and other necessaries, to Lolonois. This ship he chose for himself, and gave that which he commanded to his comrade, Anthony du Puis. Being thus recruited with men in lieu of them he had lost in taking the prizes, and by sickness, he found himself in a good condition to set sail for Maracaibo, in the province of Neuva Venezuela, in the latitude of 12 deg. 10 min. north. This island is 20 leagues long, and 12 broad. To this port also belong the islands of Onega and Monges. The east side thereof is called Cape St. Roman, and the western side Cape of Caquibaco. The gulph is called by some the Gulph of Venezuela, but the pirates usually call it the Bay of Maracaibo.

At the entrance of this gulph are two islands extending from east to west; that towards the east is called *Isla de las Vigilijs*, or the Watch Isle, because in the middle is an high hill, on which stands a watch-house; the other is called *Isla de la Palomas*, or the Isle of Pigeons. Between these two islands runs a little sea, or rather lake of fresh water, 60 leagues long, and 30 broad, which disgorging itself into the ocean, dilates itself about the said two islands. Between them is the best passage for ships, the channel being no broader than the flight of a great gun of about eight pounds.

the Isle of Pigeons standeth a castle, to impede the entry of vessels, all being necessitated to come very high the castle, by reason of two banks of sand on the other side, with only fourteen feet water. Many other banks of sand there are in this lake, as that called El Tablazo, or the Great Table, no deeper than ten feet, forty leagues within the lake. Others there are, that have no more than six, seven, or eight feet in depth: all are very dangerous, especially to mariners unacquainted with them. West hereof is the city of Maracaibo, very pleasant to the view, its houses being built along the shore, having delightful prospects all round: the city may contain three or four thousand persons, slaves included, all which make a town of a reasonable big-ness. There are judged to be about eight hundred persons able to bear arms, all Spaniards. Here are the parish church, well built and adorned, four monasteries, and one hospital. The city is governed by a deputy-governor, substituted by the governor of the Caraccas. The trade here exercised is mostly hides and tobacco: The inhabitants possess great numbers of cattle, and many plantations, which extend thirty leagues in the country, especially towards the great town of Gibraltar, where are gathered great quantities of cocoa-nuts, and all other garden-fruits, which serve for the regale and sustenance of the inhabitants of Maracaibo, whose territories are much drier than those of Gibraltar. Other those of Maracaibo send great quantities of fish, they making returns in oranges, lemons, and other fruits; for the inhabitants of Gibraltar want fish, their fields not being capable of feeding cows and sheep.

Before Maracaibo is a very spacious and secure port, wherein may be built all sorts of vessels, having great convenience of timber, which may be

transported thither at little charge. Nigh the town lies also a small island called Borrica, where they feed great numbers of goats, which cattle the inhabitants use more for their skins, than their flesh or milk, they slighting these two, unless while they are tender, and young kids. In the fields are fed some sheep, but of a very small size. In some islands of the lake, and in other places hereabouts, are many savage Indians, called by the Spaniards Bravoës, or wild. These could never be reduced by the Spaniards, being brutish and untameable. They dwell mostly towards the west side of the lake, in little huts built on trees growing in the water, so to keep themselves from the innumerable mosquitoes or gnats, which infest and torment them night and day. To the east of the said lake are whole towns of fishermen, who likewise live in huts built on trees, as the former. Another reason of this dwelling is the frequent inundations; for after great rains the land is often overflowed for two or three leagues, there being no less than twenty-five great rivers that feed this lake. The town of Gibraltar is also frequently drowned by these, so that the inhabitants are constrained to retire to their plantations.

Gibraltar, situate at the side of the lake, about forty leagues within it, receives its provisions of flesh, as has been said, from Maracaibo. The town is inhabited by about 1500 persons, where 400 may bear arms; the greatest part of them keep shops, wherein they exercise one trade or other. In the adjacent fields are numerous plantations of sugar and cocoa, in which are many tall and beautiful trees, of whose timber houses may be built and ships. Among these are many handsome and proportionable cedars, seven or eight feet about, of which they build boats and ships, so as to bear on

only great sail; such vessels being called Piraguas. The whole country is well furnished with rivers and brooks, very useful in droughts, being then cut into many little channels to water their fields and plantations. They plant also much tobacco, well esteemed in Europe, and for its goodness is called there Tobacco de sacerdotes, or priests tobacco. They enjoy nigh twenty leagues of jurisdiction, which is bounded by very high mountains perpetually covered with snow. On the other side of these mountains is situate a great city called Medellin, to which the town of Gibraltar is subject. All merchandize is carried hence to the aforesaid city on mules, and that but at one season of the year, by reason of the excessive cold in those high mountains. On the said mules returns are made in flour of meal, which comes from towards Peru, by the way of Estafte.

Thus far I thought good to make a short description of the lake of Maracaibo, that my reader might the better comprehend what I shall say concerning the actions of pirates in this place, as follows.

Lolonois arriving at the gulph of Venezuela cast anchor with his whole fleet out of sight of the Villia, or Watch-isle: next day very early he set sail thence with all his ships for the lake of Maracaibo, where they cast anchor again; then they landed their men, with design to attack first the fortress that commanded the bar, therefore called de la Barra. This fort consists only of several great baskets of earth placed on a rising ground, planted with 16 great guns, with several other heaps of earth round about for covering their men. The pirates having landed a league off this fort, advanced by degrees towards it; but the governor having espied their landing, had placed an ambuscade:



to cut them off behind, while he should attack them in front. This the pirates discovered, and getting before, they defeated it so entirely, that not a man could retreat to the castle: this done, Lolo-nois, with his companions, advanced immediately to the fort, and after a fight of almost three hours, with the usual desperation of this sort of people, they became masters thereof, without any other arms than swords and pistols. While they were fighting, those who were the routed ambuscade, not being able to get into the castle, retired into Maracaibo in great confusion and disorder, crying, 'The pirates will presently be here with two thousand men and more.' The city having formerly been taken by this kind of people, and sacked to the uttermost, had still an idea of that misery: so that upon these dismal news they endeavoured to escape towards Gibraltar in their boats and canoes, carrying with them all the goods and money they could. Being come to Gibraltar, they told how the fortress was taken, and nothing had been saved, nor any persons escaped.

The castle thus taken by the pirates, they presently signified to the ships their victory, that they should come farther in without fear of danger. The rest of that day was spent in ruining and demolishing the said castle. They nailed the guns, and burnt as much as they could not carry away, burying the dead, and sending on board the fleet the wounded. Next day, very early, they weighed anchor, and steered all together towards Maracaibo, about six leagues distant from the fort; but the wind failing that day, they could advance little, being forced to expect the tide. Next morning they came in sight of the town, and prepared for landing under the protection of their own guns, fearing the Spaniards might have laid an ambuscade in  
the

the woods : they put their men into canoes, brought for that purpose, and landed where they thought most convenient, shooting still furiously with their great guns. Of those in the canoes, half only went ashore, the other half remained aboard : they fired from the ships as fast as possible, towards the woody part of the shore, but could discover no body ; then they entered the town, whose inhabitants, as I told you, were retired to the wood, and Gibraltar, with their wives, children, and families ; their houses they left well provided with victuals, as flour, bread, pork, brandy, wines, and poultry : with these the pirates fell to making good cheer, for in four weeks before they had no opportunity of filling their stomachs with such plenty.

They instantly possessed themselves of the best houses in the town, and placed centinels wherever they thought convenient ; the great church served them for their main guard. Next day they sent out 160 men to find out some of the inhabitants in the woods thereabouts ; these returned the same night, bringing with them 20,000 pieces of eight, several mules laden with household goods and merchandize, and twenty prisoners, men, women, and children. Some of these were put to the rack to make them confess where they had hid the rest of their goods ; but they could extort very little from them. Lolonois, who valued not murdering, though in cold blood, ten or twelve Spaniards, drew his cutlass, and hacked one to pieces before the rest, saying, ' If you do not confess and declare where you have hid the rest of your goods, I will do the like to all your companions.' At last, amongst these horrible cruelties and inhuman threats, one promised to shew the place where the rest of the Spaniards were hid ; but those that were told having intelligence of it, changed place, and buried

buried the remnant of their riches under ground, so that the pirates could not find them out, unless some of their own party should reveal them; besides, the Spaniards flying from one place to another every day, and often changing woods, were jealous even of each other, so as the father durst scarce trust his own son.

After the pirates had been fifteen days in Maracaibo, they resolved for Gibraltar; but the inhabitants having received intelligence thereof, and that they intended afterwards to go to Merida, gave notice of it to the governor there, who was a valiant foldier, and had been an officer in Flanders. His answer was, 'He would have them take no care, for he hoped in a little while to exterminate the said pirates.' Whereupon he came to Gibraltar with 400 men well armed, ordering at the same time the inhabitants to put themselves in arms; so that in all he made 800 fighting men. With the same speed he raised a battery towards the sea, mounted with twenty guns, covered with great baskets of earth; another battery he placed in another place, mounted with eight guns. This done, he barricadoed a narrow passage to the town, through which the pirates must pass, opening at the same time another through much dirt and mud into the wood, totally unknown to the pirates.

The pirates, ignorant of these preparations, having embarked all their prisoners and booty, took their way towards Gibraltar. Being come in sight of the place, they saw the royal standard hanging forth, and that those of the town designed to defend their houses. Lolonois seeing this, called a council of war what they ought to do, telling his officers and mariners, 'That the difficulty of the enterprize was very great, seeing the Spaniards had had so much time to put themselves in a posture

of defence, and had got a good body of men together, with much ammunition; but notwithstanding, said he, 'have a good courage, we must either defend ourselves like good soldiers, or lose our lives with all the riches we have got. Do as I shall do who am your captain: at other times we have fought with fewer men than we have in our company at present, and yet we have overcome greater numbers than there possibly can be in this town: the more they are, the more glory and the greater riches we shall gain.' The pirates supposed that all the riches of the inhabitants of Maracaibo were transported to Gibraltar, or at least the greatest part. After this speech, they all promised to follow and obey him. Lolonois made answer, 'It is well, but know ye, withal, that the first man who shall shew any fear, or the least apprehension thereof, I will pistol him with my own hands.'

With this resolution they cast anchor nigh the shore, near three quarters of a league from the town: next day, before sun-rising, they landed 380 men well provided, and armed every one with a cutlass and one or two pistols, and sufficient powder and bullet for thirty charges. Here they all shook hands in testimony of good courage, and began their march, Lolonois speaking thus, 'Come, my brethren, follow me, and have good courage.' They followed their guide, who believing he led them well, brought them to the way which the governor had barricadoed: not being able to pass that way, they went to the other newly made in the wood among the mire, which the Spaniards could shoot into at pleasure; but the pirates, full of courage, cut down the branches of trees and threw them on the way, that they might not stick in the dirt; mean while those of Gibraltar fired with

with their great guns so furiously, that they could scarce hear nor see for the noise and smoke. Being past the wood, they came on firm ground, where they met with a battery of six guns, which immediately the Spaniards discharged upon them, all loaded with small bullets and pieces of iron; and the Spaniards sallying forth, set upon them with such fury, as caused the pirates to give way, few of them caring to advance towards the fort, many of them being already killed and wounded. This made them go back to seek another way; but the Spaniards having cut down many trees to hinder the passage, they could find none, but were forced to return to that they had left. Here the Spaniards continued to fire as before, nor would they sally out of their batteries to fight them any more. Lolonois and his companions not being able to grimp up the baskets of earth, were compelled to use an old stratagem, wherewith at last they deceived and overcame the Spaniards.

Lolonois retired suddenly with all his men, making shew as if he fled; hereupon the Spaniards crying out, 'They flee, they flee, let us follow them,' sallied forth with great disorder to the pursuit. Being drawn to some distance from the batteries, which was the pirates only design, they turned upon them unexpectedly with sword in hand, and killed above 200 men; and thus fighting their way through those who remained, they possessed themselves of the batteries. The Spaniards that remained abroad, giving themselves over for lost, fled to the woods; those in the battery of eight guns surrendered themselves, obtaining quarter for their lives. The pirates being now become masters of the town, pulled down the Spanish colours and set up their own, taking prisoners as many as they could find: these they carried to the great church, where



where they raised a battery of several great guns, fearing lest the Spaniards that were fled should rally, and come upon them again; but next day being all fortified, their fears were over. They gathered the dead to bury them, being above 500 Spaniards, besides the wounded in the town, and those that died of their wounds in the woods. The pirates had also above 150 prisoners, and eight hundred slaves, many women and children.

Of their own companions only forty were killed, and almost eighty wounded, whereof the greatest part died through the bad air, which brought fevers and other illnesses. They put the slain Spaniards into two great boats, and carrying them a quarter of a league to sea, they sunk the boats; this done, they gathered all the plate, household-stuff, and merchandize they could, or thought convenient to carry away. The Spaniards who had any thing left had hid it carefully; but the unsatisfied pirates, not contented with the riches they had got, sought for more goods and merchandize, not sparing those who lived in the fields, such as hunters and planters. They had scarce been eighteen days on the place, when the greatest part of the prisoners died for hunger; for in the town were few provisions, especially of flesh, though they had some, but not sufficient quantity of flour or meal, and this the pirates had taken for themselves, as they also took the swine, cows, sheep, and poultry, without allowing any share to the poor prisoners; for these they only provided some small quantity of mules and asses flesh; and many who could not eat of that stinking provision, died for hunger, their stomachs not being accustomed to such sustenance; only some women were allowed better cheer, because they served their sensual delights, to which these robbers are much given: among these some had

had been forced, others were volunteers, though almost all rather submitted through poverty and hunger than any other cause. Of the prisoners many also died under the torment they sustained to make them discover their money or jewels; and of these, some had none, nor knew of none, and others denying what they knew, endured such horrible deaths.

Finally, after having been in possession of the town four entire weeks, they sent four of the prisoners to the Spaniards that were fled to the woods, demanding of them a ransom for not burning the town: the sum demanded was 10,000 pieces of eight, which if not sent, they threatened to reduce it to ashes. For bringing in this money, they allowed them only two days; but the Spaniards not having been able to gather so punctually such a sum, the pirates fired many places of the town; whereupon the inhabitants begged them to help quench the fire, and the ransom should be readily paid. The pirates condescended, helping as much as they could to stop the fire; but, notwithstanding all their best endeavours, one part of the town was ruined, especially the church belonging to the monastery was burnt down. After they had received the said sum, they carried aboard all the riches they had got, with a great number of slaves which had not paid the ransom; for all the prisoners had sums of money set upon them, and the slaves were also commanded to be redeemed. Hence they returned to Maracaibo, where being arrived, they found a general consternation in the whole city, to which they sent three or four prisoners to tell the governor and inhabitants, 'They should bring them 30,000 pieces of eight aboard their ships for a ransom of their houses, otherwise they should be sacked anew, and burnt.'

Among

Among these debates a party of pirates came on shore, and carried away the images, pictures, and bells of the great church, aboard the fleet. The Spaniards who were sent to demand the sum aforesaid returned, with orders to make some agreement; who concluded with the pirates to give for their ransom and liberty 20,000 pieces of eight, and 500 cows, provided that they should commit no farther hostilities, but depart thence presently, after payment of money and cattle. The one and the other being delivered, the whole fleet set sail, causing great joy to the inhabitants of Maracaibo, to see themselves quit of them: but three days after they renewed their fears with admiration, seeing the pirates appear again, and re-enter the port with all their ships; but these apprehensions vanished, upon hearing one of the pirates errand, who came ashore from Lolonois, 'to demand a skilful pilot to conduct one of the greatest ships over the dangerous bank that lieth at the very entry of the lake.' Which petition, or rather command, was instantly granted.

They had now been full two months in those towns, wherein they committed those cruel and insolent actions we have related. Departing thence, they took their course to Hispaniola, and arrived there in eight days, casting anchor in a port called Isla de la Vacca, or Cow Island. This island is inhabited by French bucaniers, who mostly sell the flesh they hunt to pirates, and others, who now and then put in there to victual or trade. Here they unladed their whole cargazone of riches, the usual storehouse of the pirates being commonly under the shelter of the bucaniers. Here they made a dividend of all their prizes and gains, according to the order and degree of every one, as has been mentioned before. Having made an exact calculation of

of all their plunder, they found in ready money 260,000 pieces of eight: this being divided, every one received for his share in money, as also in silken, linen, and other commodities, to the value of above 100 pieces of eight. Those who had been wounded received their first part, after the rate mentioned before, for the loss of their limbs. Then they weighed all the plate uncolned, reckoning ten pieces of eight to a pound; the jewels were prized differently, either too high or too low, by reason of their ignorance. This done, every one was put to his oath again, that he had not smuggled any thing from the common stock. Hence they proceeded to the dividend of the shares of such as were dead in battle, or otherwise: these shares were given to their friends, to be kept entire for them, and to be delivered in due time to their nearest relations, or their apparent lawful heirs.

The whole dividend being finished, they set sail for Tortuga: here they arrived a month after, to the great joy of most of the island; for as to the common pirates, in three weeks they had scarce any money left, having spent it all in things of little value, or lost it at play. Here had arrived, not long before them, two French ships, with wine and brandy, and such like commodities, whereby these liquors, at the arrival of the pirates, were indifferent cheap; but this lasted not long, for soon after they were enhanced extremely, a gallon of brandy being sold for four pieces of eight. The governor of the island bought of the pirates the whole cargo of the ship laden with cocoa, giving for that rich commodity scarce the twentieth part of its worth. Thus they made shift to lose and spend the riches they had got, in much less time than they were purchased: the taverns and stews, according to the custom of pirates, got the greatest part; so that soon

soon after they were forced to seek more by the same unlawful means they had got the former.

C H A P. X.

*Colonis makes new preparations to take the city of St. James de Leon, as also that of Nicaragua, where he miserably perishes.*

OLONOIS had got great repute at Tortuga by this last voyage, because he brought home such considerable profit; and now he need take no great care to gather men to serve under him, more coming in voluntarily than he could employ, every one reposing such confidence in his conduct, that they judged it very safe to expose themselves, in his company, to the greatest dangers. He resolved therefore a second voyage to the parts of Nicaragua, to pillage there as many towns as he could.

Having published his new preparations, he had all his men together at the time, being about 700. Of these he put 300 aboard the ship he took at Maracaibo, and the rest in five other vessels of lesser burden; so that they were in all six ships. The first port they went to was Bayaha in Hispaniola, to victual the fleet, and take in provisions; which done, they steered their course to a port called Mamana, on the south side of Cuba, intending to take here all the canoes they could, these coasts being frequented by the fishers of tortoises, who carry them hence to the Havanna. They took as many of them, to the great grief of those miserable people, as they thought necessary; for they had great use for these small bottoms, by reason the port they designed for had not depth enough for ships of any burden. Hence they took their course towards the Cape Gracias à Dios, on the continent, in latitude  
15 deg.



15 deg. north, 100 leagues from the island de los Pinos. Being at sea, they were taken with a fair and tedious calm, and, by the agitation of the waves alone, were thrown into the gulph of Honduras: here they laboured hard in vain to regain what they had lost, both the waters and the wind being contrary; besides, the ship wherein Lolonois was embarked could not follow the rest; and, what was worse, they wanted provisions. Hereupon they were forced to put into the first port they could reach, to re-victual: so they entered with their canoes into the river Xagua, inhabited by Indians whom they totally destroyed, finding great quantities of millet, and many hogs and hens: not contented with which, they determined to remain there till the bad weather was over, and to pillage all the towns and villages along the coast of the gulph. Thus they passed from one place to another, seeking still more provisions, with which they were not sufficiently supplied. Having searched and rifled many villages, where they found no great matter, they came at last to Puerto Cavallo. Here the Spaniards have two storehouses to keep the merchandizes that are brought from the inner parts of the country, till the arrival of the ships. There was then in the port a Spanish ship of 24 guns and 16 pedreroes, or mortar-pieces: this ship was immediately seized by the pirates, and then drawing nigh the shore, they landed, and burnt the two storehouses, with all the rest of the houses there. Many inhabitants, likewise, they took prisoners, and committed upon them the most inhuman cruelties that ever heathens invented; putting them to the cruellest tortures they could devise. It was the custom of Lolonois, that having tormented persons not confessing, he would instantly cut them in pieces with his hanger, and pull out their tongues, de-

firing

ing to do so, if possible, to every Spaniard in the world. It often happened, that some of these miserable prisoners, being forced by the rack, would promise to discover the places where the fugitive Spaniards lay hid ; which being not able afterwards to perform, they were put to more cruel deaths than they who were dead before.

The prisoners being all dead but two (whom they reserved to shew them what they desired) they marched hence to the town of San Pedro, or St. Peter, ten or twelve leagues from Puerto Cavallo, being 300 men, whom Lolonois led, leaving behind him Moses van Vin, his lieutenant, to govern the rest in his absence. Being come three leagues on their way, they met with a troop of Spaniards, who lay in ambuscade for their coming : these they set upon with all the courage imaginable, and at last totally defeated. Howbeit, they behaved themselves very manfully at first ; but not being able to resist the fury of the pirates, they were forced to give way and save themselves by flight, leaving many pirates dead in the place, some wounded, and some of their own party maimed, by the way. These Lolonois put to death without mercy, having asked them what questions he thought fit for his purpose.

There were were still remaining some few prisoners not wounded ; these were asked by Lolonois, if any more Spaniards did lie farther on in ambuscade ? they answered, there were. Then being brought before him, one by one, he asked if there was no other way to the town but that ? This he did to avoid, if possible, those ambuscades. But they all constantly answered him, they knew none. Having asked them all, and finding they could shew him no other way, Lolonois grew outrageously passionate, so that he drew his cutlass, and with it cut open the breast of one of those poor Spaniards,

and

and pulling out his heart, began to bite and gnaw it with his teeth, like a ravenous wolf, saying to the rest, 'I will serve you all alike, if you shew me not another way.'

Hereupon those miserable wretches promised to shew him another way; but withal, they told him it was extremely difficult and laborious. Thus, to satisfy that cruel tyrant, they began to lead him and his army; but finding it was not for his purpose as they had told him, he was forced to return to the former way; swearing with great choler and indignation, 'Mort Dieu, les Espagnols me la payeront.' 'By God's death, the Spaniards shall pay me for this.'

Next day he fell into another ambuscade, which he assaulted with such horrible fury, that in less than an hour's time he routed the Spaniards, and killed the greatest part of them. The Spaniards thought by these ambuscades better to destroy the pirates, assaulting them by degrees; and for this reason had posted themselves in several places. At last he met with a third ambuscade, where was placed a party stronger, and more advantageously than the former; yet notwithstanding, the pirates by continually throwing little fire-balls in great numbers, for some time, forced this party, as was the former, to flee, and this with so great loss of men, that before they could reach the town the greatest part of the Spaniards were either killed or wounded. There was but one path which led to the town, very well barricadoed with good defences, and the rest of the town round was planted with shrubs, called Raqueltes, full of thorns very sharp pointed. This sort of fortification seemed stronger than the triangles used in Europe, where an army is of necessity to pass by the place of an enemy; it being almost impossible for the pirates to

traverse

averse those shrubs. The Spaniards posted behind the said defences, seeing the pirates come, began to assault them with their great guns; but these perceiving them ready to fire, used to stoop down, and when the shot was made, to fall upon the defendants with fire-balls and naked swords, killing many of the town: yet notwithstanding, not being able to advance any farther, they retired for the present. Then they renewed the attack with fewer men than before, and observing not to shoot till they were very nigh, they gave the Spaniards a charge so extrouly, that with every shot they killed an enemy.

The attack continuing thus eager on both sides all night, the Spaniards were compelled to hang forth a white flag, and desired to come to a parley: the only conditions they required were, 'That the pirates should give the inhabitants quarter for two hours.' This little time they demanded, with intent to carry away and hide as much of their goods and riches as they could, and to fly to some other neighbouring town. Granting this article, they entered the town, and continued there the two hours, without committing the least hostility on the inhabitants; but no sooner was that time past, than the Colonis ordered that the inhabitants should be followed, and robbed of all they had carried away; and not only their goods, but their persons likewise to be made prisoners; though the greatest part of their merchandize and goods were so hid, as the pirates could not find them, except a few leathern sacks, filled with anil, or indigo.

Having staid here a few days, and, according to their custom, committed most horrid insolencies, they at last quitted the place, carrying away all they possibly could, and reducing the town to ashes. Being come to the sea-side, where they had

left a party of their own, they found these had been cruising upon the fishermen thereabouts, who came that way from the river of Guatemala. In this river was also expected a ship from Spain. Finally, they resolved to go toward the islands on the other side of the gulph, there to cleanse and repaint their vessels; but they left two canoes before the coast, or rather the mouth of the river of Guatemala, in order to take the ship, which, as I said, was expected from Spain.

But their chief intent in going hither was to seek provisions, knowing the tortoises of those places are excellent food. Being arrived, they divided themselves, each party choosing a fit post for the fishery. They undertook to knit nets with the rings of certain trees called Macoa, whereof they make also ropes and cables; so that no vessel can be in need of such things, if they can but find the said trees. There are also many places where they find pitch in so great abundance, that running down the sea-coasts, being melted by the sun, it congeals in the water in great heaps, like small islands. This pitch is not like that of Europe, but resembles, both in colour and shape, that froth of the sea called bitumen; but in my judgment, this matter is nothing but wax mixed with sand, which storm weather, and the rolling waves of great rivers, have cast into the sea: for in those parts are great quantities of bees, who make their honey in trees, the bodies of which the honey-comb being fixed, when tempests arise they are torn away, and by the fury of the winds carried into the sea, as is said. Some naturalists say, that the honey and the wax are separated by the salt water, whence proceeds the good amber. This opinion seems the more probable, because the said amber tastes as wax doth.

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But to return to my discourse: The pirates made in those islands all the haste they possibly could to equip their vessels, hearing that the Spanish ship was come which they expected. They spent some time cruizing on the coasts of Jucatan, where inhabit many Indians, who seek for the said amber in those seas. And I shall here, by the bye, make some short remarks on the manner of living of the Indians, and their religion.

They have now been above 100 years under the Spaniards, to whom they performed all manner of services; for whensoever any of them needed a slave, or servant, they sent for these to serve them as long as they pleased. By the Spaniards they were initiated in the principles of the Christian faith and religion, and they sent them every Sunday and holiday a priest to perform divine service among them: afterwards, for reasons not known, but certainly through temptations of the father of idolatry, the devil, they suddenly cast off the Christian religion, abusing the priest that was sent them; this provoked the Spaniards to punish them, by casting many of the chief into prison. Every one of those barbarians had, and hath still, a god to himself, whom he serves and worships. It is a matter of admiration how they use a child newly born: as soon as it comes into the world, they carry it to the temple; here they make a hole, which they fill with reeds only, on which they place the child naked, leaving it there a whole night alone, not without great danger, no body daring to come near it. Mean while the temple is open on all sides, that all sorts of beasts may freely come in and out. Next day, the father and relations of the infant return to see if the track or step of any animal appears in the reeds; not finding any, they leave the child there till some beast has approached the infant, and left

behind him the marks of his feet: to 'this animal, whatsoever it be, they consecrate the creature newly born, as to its god, which he is bound to worship all his life, esteeming the said beast his patron and protector. They offer to their gods sacrifices of fire, wherein they burn a certain gum, called by them Copal, whose smoke smells very deliciously. When the infant is grown up, the parents thereof tell him who he ought to worship, serve, and honour as his own proper god; then he goes to the temple, where he makes offerings to the said beast. Afterwards, if in the course of his life, any one injure him, or any evil happen to him, he complains to that beast, and sacrifices to it for revenge. Hence it often comes, that those who have done the injury of which he complains, are bitten, killed, or otherwise hurt by such animals.

After this superstitious and idolatrous manner live those miserable and ignorant Indians that inhabit the islands of the gulph of Honduras; as also many of them on the continent of Jucatan, in the territories whereof are most excellent ports, where those Indians most commonly build their houses. These people are not very faithful to one another, and use strange ceremonies at their marriages. Whensoever any one pretends to marry a young damsel, he first applies himself to her father or nearest relation: he examines him nicely about the manner of cultivating their plantations, and other things, at his pleasure. Having satisfied the questions of his father-in-law, he gives the young man a bow and arrow, with which he repairs to the young maid, and presents her with a garland of green leaves and sweet-smelling flowers; this she is obliged to put on her head, and lay aside the which she wore before, it being the custom for the girls to go perpetually crowned with flowers. The

garland

garland being received and put on her head, every one of the relations and friends go to advise with others, whether that marriage will be like to be happy or not; then they meet at the house of the damsel's father, where they drink of a liquor made of maize, or Indian wheat; and here, before the whole company, the father gives his daughter in marriage to the bridegroom. Next day the bride comes to her mother, and in her presence pulls off the garland, and tears it in pieces, with great cries and lamentations. Many other things I could relate of the manner of living and customs of those Indians, but I shall follow my discourse.

Our pirates therefore had many canoes of the Indians in the isle of Sambale, five leagues from the coasts of Jucatan. Here is a great quantity of amber, but especially when any storm arises from towards the east; whence the waves bring many things, and very different. Through this sea no vessels can pass, unless very small, it being too shallow. In the lands that are surrounded by this sea is found much Campeachy wood, and other things that serve for dying, much esteemed in Europe, and would be more, if we had the skill of the Indians, who make a dye or tincture that never fades.

The pirates having been in that gulph three months, and receiving advice that the Spanish ship was come, hastened to the port where the Spanish ship lay at anchor unlading his merchandize, with design to assault her as soon as possible; but first, they thought convenient to send away some of their boats to seek for a small vessel also expected, very richly laden with plate, indigo, and cochineal. Mean while, the ship's crew having notice that the pirates designed upon them, prepared all things for a good defence, being mounted with 42 guns, well furnished with arms and other necessities,

necessaries, and 130 fighting men. To Lolonois all this seemed but little, for he assaulted her with great courage, his own ship carrying but 22 guns, and having no more than a small suety or fly-boat for help: but the Spaniards defended themselves so well, as they forced the pirates to retire; but the smoke of the powder continuing thick, as a dark fog or mist, with four canoes well manned they boarded the ship with great agility, and forced the Spaniards to surrender.

The ship being taken, they found not in her what they thought, being already almost unladen. All they got was only fifty bars of iron, a small parcel of paper, some earthen jars of wine, and other things of small importance.

Then Lolonois called a council of war, and told them he intended for Guatamala: hereupon they divided into several sentiments, some liking the proposal, and others disliking it, especially a party of them who were but raw in those exercises, and who imagined, at their setting forth from Tortuga, that pieces of eight were gathered as easily as pears from a tree; but finding most things contrary to their expectation, they quitted the fleet, and returned; others affirmed they had rather starve than return home without a great deal of money.

But the major part judging the propounded voyage little to their purpose, separated from Lolonois and the rest: of these one Moses Vanclein was ringleader, captain of the ship taken at Puerto Cabello: this fellow steered for Tortuga, to steer and fro in these seas: with him joined another comrade of his, by name Pierre le Picard, who seeing the rest leave Lolonois, thought fit to do the same. These run-aways having thus parted company, steered homewards, coasting along the continent till they came to Costa Rica; here they landed a strong

party nigh the river Veraguas, and marched in good order to the town of the same name; this they took and totally pillaged, though the Spaniards made a strong resistance. They brought away some of the inhabitants as prisoners, with all that they had, which was of no great importance, by reason of the poverty of the place, which exerciseth no other trade than working in the mines, where some of the inhabitants constantly attend, while none seek for gold, but only slaves: these they compel to dig and wash the earth in the neighbouring rivers, where often they find pieces of gold as big as peas. The pirates gaining in this adventure but seven or eight pound weight of gold, they returned, giving over the design to go to the town of Nata, situate on the coasts of the South-Sea, whose inhabitants are rich merchants, and their slaves work in the mines of Veraguas; being deterred by the multitude of Spaniards gathered on all sides to fall upon them, whereof they had timely advice.

Lolonois thus left by his companions, remained alone in the gulph of Honduras. His ship being too great to get out at the reflux of those seas, there he sustained great want of provisions, so as they were constrained to go ashore every day to seek sustenance, and not finding any thing else, they were forced to kill and eat monkeys and other animals, such as they could find.

At last, in the altitude of the cape of Gracias a Dios, near a certain little island called de las Pertas, his ship struck on a bank of sand, where it stuck so fast, as no art could get her off again, though they unladed all the guns, iron, and other weighty things, as much as they could. Hereupon they were forced to break the ship in pieces, and with planks and nails build themselves a boat to get away;



and while they are busy about it, I shall describe the said isles and their inhabitants.

The islands de las Pertas are inhabited by savage Indians, not having known or conversed with civil people: they are tall and very nimble, running almost as fast as horses; at diving also they are very dextrous and hardy. From the bottom of the sea I saw them take up an anchor of 600 weight, tying a cable to it with great dexterity, and pulling it from a rock. Their arms are made of wood, without any iron point; but some instead thereof use a crocodile's tooth. They have no bows nor arrows, as the other Indians have, but their common weapon is a sort of lance a fathom and a half long. Here are many plantations surrounded with woods, whence they gather abundance of fruits, as potatoes, bananas, racoven, ananas, and many others. They have no houses to dwell in, as at other places in the Indies. Some say they eat human flesh, which is confirmed by what happened when Lolo-nois was there. Two of his companions, one a Frenchman and the other a Spaniard, went into the woods, where having straggled a while, a troop of Indians pursued them. They defended themselves as well as they could with their swords, but at last were forced to flee. The nimble Frenchman escaped, but the Spaniard, being not so swift, was taken and heard of no more. Some days after, twelve pirates set forth very well armed, to seek their companion, among whom was the Frenchman, who conducted them, and shewed them the place where he left him; here they found that the Indians had kindled a fire, and at a small distance they found a man's bones well roasted, with some pieces of flesh ill scraped off the bones, and one hand, which had only two fingers remaining; whence

whence they concluded they had roasted the poor Spaniard.

They marched on, seeking for Indians, and found a great number together, who endeavoured to escape, but they overtook some of them, and brought aboard their ships five men and four women; with these they took much pains to make themselves be understood, and to gain their affections, giving them trifles, as knives, beads, and the like; they gave them also victuals and drink, but nothing would they taste. It was also observable, that while they were prisoners they spoke not one word to each other; so that seeing these poor Indians were much afraid, they presented them again with some small things, and let them go. When they parted, they made signs that they would come again; but they soon forgot their benefactors, and were never heard of more; neither could any notice afterwards be had of these Indians, nor any others in the whole island; which made the pirates suspect that both those that were taken, and all the rest of the islanders swam away by night to some little neighbouring islands, especially considering they could never set eyes on any Indian more, nor any boat or other vessel. Mean while the pirates were very desirous to see their long-boat finished out of the timber that struck on the sands; yet considering their work would be long, they began to cultivate some pieces of ground: here they sowed French beans, which ripened in six weeks, and many other fruits. They had good provision of Spanish wheat, bananas, racoven, and other things; with the wheat they made bread, and baked it in portable ovens brought with them. Thus they feared not hunger in those desert places, employing themselves thus for five or six months; which past, and the long-boat finished, they resolved for the

river of Nicaragua, to see if they could take some canoes, and return to the said islands for their companions that remained behind, by reason the boat could not hold so many men together: hereupon, to avoid disputes, they cast lots, determining who should go or stay.

The lot fell on one half of the people of the lost vessel, who embarked in the long-boat, and on the skiff which they had before, the other half remaining ashore. Lolonois having set sail, arrived in few days at the river of Nicaragua: here that ill fortune assailed him which of long time had been reserved for him, as a punishment due to the multitude of horrible crimes committed in his licentious and wicked life. Here he met with both Spaniards and Indians, who jointly setting upon him and his companions, the greatest part of the pirates were killed on the place. Lolonois, with those that remained alive, had much ado to escape aboard their boats: yet notwithstanding this great loss, he resolved not to return to those he had left at the island of Pertas, without taking some boats, such as he looked for. To this effect he determined to go on to the coasts of Carthagena; but God Almighty, the time of his divine justice being now come, had appointed the Indians of Darien to be the instruments and executioners thereof. These Indians of Darien are esteemed as braves, or wild savage Indians, by the neighbouring Spaniards, who never could civilize them. Hither Lolonois came (brought by his evil conscience that cried for punishment) thinking to act his cruelties; but the Indians, within a few days after his arrival, took him prisoner, and tore him in pieces alive, throwing his body limb by limb into the fire, and his ashes into the air, that no trace or memory might remain of such an infamous inhuman creature. One of his companions

companions gave me an exact account of this tragedy, affirming that himself had escaped the same punishment with the greatest difficulty: he believed also that many of his comrades, who were taken in that rencounter by those Indians, were, as their cruel captain, torn in pieces and burnt alive. Thus ends the history, the life, and miserable death of that infernal wretch Lolonois, who, full of horrid, execrable, and enormous deeds, and debtor to so much innocent blood, died by cruel and butcherly hands, such as his own were in the course of his life.

Those that remained in the island de las Pertas, waiting for the return of them who got away only to their great misfortune, hearing no news of their captain nor companions, at last embarked on the ship of a certain pirate, who happened to pass that way. This fellow came from Jamaica, with intent to land at Gracias a Dios, and from thence to enter the river with his canoes, and take the city of Carthagena. These two crews of pirates being now joined, were infinitely glad at the presence and society of one another; those, because they found themselves delivered from the miseries, poverty, and necessities, wherein they had lived ten entire months; these, because they were now considerably strengthened, to effect with greater satisfaction their designs. Hereupon, as soon as they were arrived at Gracias a Dios, they all put themselves into canoes, and entered the river, being 500 men, leaving only five or six persons in each ship to keep them. They took no provisions, being persuaded they should find every where sufficient: but these their hopes were found totally vain, not being grounded on Almighty God; for he ordained it so, that the Indians, aware of their coming, all fled, not leaving in their houses or plantations, which for

the most part border on the sides of rivers, any necessary provisions or victuals: hereby, in a few days after they had quitted their ships, they were reduced to most extreme necessity and hunger; but their hopes of making their fortunes very soon, animating them for the present, they contented themselves with a few green herbs, such as they could gather on the banks of the river.

Yet all this courage and vigour lasted but a few nights, when their hearts as well as bodies began to fail for hunger; insomuch as they were forced to quit the river, and betake themselves to the woods, seeking out some villages where they might find relief; but all in vain; for having ranged up and down the woods for some days, without finding the least comfort, they were forced to return to the river, where being come, they thought convenient to descend to the sea-coast where they had left their ships, not having been able to find what they sought for. In this laborious journey they were reduced to such extremity, that many of them devoured their own shoes, the sheaths of their swords, knives, and other such things, being almost ravenous, and eager to meet some Indians intending to sacrifice them to their teeth. At last they arrived at the sea-coast, where they found some comfort and relief to their former miseries, and all means to seek more; yet the greatest part perished through faintness, and other diseases contracted by hunger, which also caused the remaining part to disperse, till at last, by degrees, many or most of them fell into the same pit that Lolonois did; of whom, and of whose companions, having given a compendious narrative, I shall continue with the actions and exploits of Captain Henry Morgan, who may deservedly be called the second Lolonois, not being unlike or inferior to him, either in atchievements



ments against the Spaniards, or in robberies of many innocent people.

## C H A P. XI.

*The origin and descent of Captain Henry Morgan; his exploits, and the most remarkable actions of his life.*

CAPTAIN Henry Morgan was born in Great Britain, in the principality of Wales; his father was a rich yeoman, or farmer, of good quality, even as most who bear that name in Wales are known to be. Morgan, when young, had no inclination to the calling of his father, and therefore left his country, and came towards the sea-coasts to seek some other employment more suitable to his aspiring humour; where he found several ships at anchor, bound for Barbadoes: with these he resolved to go in the service of one, who, according to the practice of those parts, sold him as soon as he came ashore. He served his time at Barbadoes, and obtaining his liberty, betook himself to Jamaica, there to seek new fortunes: here he found two vessels of pirates ready to go to sea; and being destitute of employment, he went with them, with intent to follow the exercises of that sort of people: he soon learned their manner of living so exactly, that having performed three or four voyages with profit and success, he agreed with some of his comrades, who had got by the same voyages a little money, to join stocks, and buy a ship. The vessel being bought, they unanimously chose him captain and commander.

With this ship he set forth from Jamaica to cruize on the coasts of Campeachy, in which voyage he took several ships, with which he returned triumphant. Here he found an old pirate, named

Manfvelt (whom we have already mentioned) busied in equipping a considerable fleet, with design to land on the continent, and pillage whatever he could. Manfvelt seeing Captain Morgan return with so many prizes, judged him to be a man of courage, and chose him for his vice-admiral in that expedition: thus having fitted out fifteen ships, great and small, they sailed from Jamaica with 500 men, Walloons and French. This fleet arrived, not long after, at the isle of St. Catherine, near the continent of Costa Rica, latitude 12 deg. 30 min. and distant 35 leagues from the river Chagre. Here they made their first descent, landing most of their men, who soon forced the garison that kept the island to surrender all the forts and castles thereof, which they instantly demolished, except one, wherein they placed 100 men of their own party, and all the slaves they had taken from the Spaniards: with the rest of their men they marched to another small island, so near St. Catherine's, that with a bridge they made in a few days, they passed thither, taking with them all the ordnance they had taken on the great island. Having ruined with fire and sword both the islands, leaving necessary orders at the said castle, they put to sea again with their Spanish prisoners; yet these they set ashore not long after, on the firm land, near Puerto Velo: then they cruized on Costa Rica, till they came to the river Colla, designing to pillage all the towns in those parts, thence to pass to the village of Nata, to do the same.

The governor of Panama, on advice of their arrival, and of the hostilities they committed, thought it his duty to meet them with a body of men. His coming caused the pirates to retire suddenly, seeing the whole country was alarmed, and that their designs were known, and consequently defeated at that time. Hereupon they returned to St. Catharine's,

to visit the hundred men they had left in garrison here. The governor of these men was a Frenchman, named Le Sieur Simon, who behaved himself very well in that charge, while Mansvelt was absent, having put the great island in a very good posture of defence, and the little one he had caused to be cultivated with many fertile plantations, sufficient to revictual the whole fleet; not only for the present, but also for a new voyage. Mansvelt was very much bent to keep these two islands in perpetual possession, being very commodiously situated for the pirates; being so near the Spanish dominions, and easily defended, as I shall represent in the third part of this history.

Hereupon Mansvelt determined to return to Jamaica, to send recruits to St. Catharine's, that in case of an invasion the pirates might be provided for a defence. As soon as he arrived, he propounded his intentions to the governor there, who rejected his propositions, fearing to displease his master, the king of England; besides, that giving him the men he desired, and necessaries, he must of necessity diminish the forces of that island, whereof he was governor. Hereupon Mansvelt, knowing that of himself he could not compass his designs, he went to Tortuga; but there, before he could put in execution what was intended, death surprized him, and put a period to his wicked life, leaving all things in suspense, till the occasion I shall hereafter relate.

Le Sieur Simon, governor of St. Catherine's, receiving no news from Mansvelt, his admiral, was impatiently desirous to know the cause thereof; mean while, Don John Perez de Guzman, being newly come to the government of Costa Rica, thought it not convenient for the interest of Spain for that island to be in the hands of the pirates: hereupon

hereupon he equipped a considerable fleet, which he sent to retake it; but before he used violence, he writ a letter to Le Sieur Simon, telling him, that if he would surrender the island to his Catholick Majesty, he should be very well rewarded; but, in case of refusal, severely punished, when he had forced him to do it. Le Sieur Simon, seeing no probability of being able to defend it alone, nor any emolument that by so doing could accrue either to him, or his people, after some small resistance delivered it up to its true lord and master, under the same articles they had obtained it from the Spaniards; a few days after which surrender, there arrived from Jamaica an English ship, which the governor there had sent under-hand, with a good supply of people, both men and women: the Spaniards from the castle having espied the ship, put forth English colours, and persuaded Le Sieur Simon to go aboard, and conduct the ship into a port they assigned him. This he performed, and they were all made prisoners. A certain Spanish engineer has published in print an exact relation of the retaking of this isle by the Spaniards, which I have thought fit to insert here.

*A true relation, and particular account of the victory obtained by the arms of his Catholick Majesty against the English pirates, by the direction and valour of Don John Perez de Guzman, knight of the order of St. James, governor and captain-general of Terra Firma, and the province of Veraguas.*

THE kingdom of Terra Firma, which of itself is sufficiently strong to repel and destroy great fleets, especially the pirates of Jamaica, had several ways notice imparted to the governor thereof, that fourteen English vessels cruized on the coasts belong-

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ing to his Catholick Majesty. July 14, 1665, news came to Panama, that they were arrived at Puerto de Naos, and had forced the Spanish garrison of the isle of St. Catharine, whose governor was Don Estevan del Campo, and possessed themselves of the said island, taking prisoners the inhabitants, and destroying all that they met. About the same time, Don John Perez de Guzman received particular information of these robberies from some Spaniards who escaped out of the island (and whom he ordered to be conveyed to Puerto Velo) that the said pirates came into the island May 2, by night, without being perceived; and that the next day, after some skirmishes, they took the fortresses, and made prisoners all the inhabitants and soldiers that could not escape. Upon this, Don John called a council of war, wherein he declared the great progress the said pirates had made in the dominions of his Catholick Majesty; and propounded, 'that it was absolutely necessary to send some forces to the isle of St. Catharine, sufficient to retake it from the pirates, the honour and interest of his majesty of Spain being very narrowly concerned herein; otherwise the pirates by such conquests might easily, in course of time, possess themselves of all the countries thereabouts.' To this some made answer, 'that the pirates, not being able to subsist in the said island, would of necessity consume and waste themselves, and be forced to quit it, without any necessity of retaking it: that consequently it was not worth the while to engage in so many expences and troubles as this would cost.' Notwithstanding which, Don John being an expert and valiant soldier, ordered that provisions should be conveyed to Puerto Velo for the use of the militia, and transported himself thither, with no small danger of his life. Here he arrived July 2, with most things necessary



cessary to the expedition in hand, where he found in the port a good ship, and well mounted, called the St. Vincent, that belonged to the company of the negroes, which he manned and victualled very well, and sent to the isle of St. Catharine, constituting Captain Joseph Sanchez Ximenez, major of Puerto Velo, commander thereof. He carried with him 270 soldiers, and 37 prisoners of the same island, beside 34 Spaniards of the garrison of Puerto Velo, 29 mulattoes of Panama, 12 Indians, very dextrous at shooting with bows and arrows, seven expert and able gunners, two lieutenants, two pilots, one surgeon, and one religious, of the order of St. Francis, for their chaplain.

Don John soon after gave orders to all the officers how to behave themselves, telling them that the governor of Carthagena would supply them with more men, boats, and all things else necessary for that enterprize; to which effect he had already written to the said governor. July 24, Don John setting sail with a fair wind, he called before him all his people, and made them a speech, encouraging them to fight against the enemies of their country and religion, and especially against those inhuman pirates, who had committed so many horrid cruelties upon the subjects of his Catholick Majesty; withal, promising every one most liberal rewards, especially to such as should behave themselves well in the service of their king and country. Thus Don John bid them farewell, and the ship set sail under a favourable gale. The 22d they arrived at Carthagena, and presented a letter to the governor thereof from the noble and valiant Don John, who received it with testimonies of great affection to the person of Don John, and his majesty's service: and seeing the resolution to be conformable to his desires, he promised them his assistance, with one frigate, one galleon, one boat, and 126 men; one half out of his

his own garrison, and the other half mulattoes. Thus being well provided with necessaries, they left the port of Carthagena August 2, and the 10th they arrived in sight of St. Catharine's, towards the western point thereof; and though the wind was contrary, yet they reached the port, and anchored within it, having lost one of their boats by foul weather, at the rock called *Quita Signos*.

The pirates, seeing our ships come to an anchor, gave them presently three guns with bullets, which were soon answered in the same coin. Hereupon, Major Joseph Sanchez Ximenez sent ashore to the pirates one of his officers to require them, in the name of the Catholick king his master, to surrender the island, seeing they had taken it in the midst of peace between the two crowns of Spain and England; and that if they would be obstinate, he would certainly put them all to the sword. The pirates made answer, that the island had once before belonged unto the government and dominions of the king of England, and that instead of surrendering they preferred to lose their lives.

On Friday the 13th, three negroes from the enemy came, swimming, aboard our admiral; these brought intelligence, that all the pirates upon the island were only 72 in number, and that they were under a great consternation, seeing such considerable forces come against them. With this intelligence, the Spaniards resolved to land, and advance towards the fortresses, which ceased not to fire as many great guns against them as they possibly could; which were answered in the same manner on our side, till dark night. On Sunday the 15th, the day of the assumption of our Lady, the weather being very calm and clear, the Spaniards began to advance thus: the ship *St. Vincent*, riding admiral, discharged two whole broadsides on the battery called

led the Conception; the ship *St. Peter*, that was vice-admiral, discharged likewise her guns against the other battery, named *St. James*: mean while, our people landed in small boats, directing their course towards the point of the battery last mentioned, and thence they marched towards the gate called *Cortadura*. Lieutenant *Francis de Caceres*, being desirous to view the strength of the enemy with only 15 men, was compelled to retreat in haste, by reason of the great guns, which played so furiously on the place where he stood; they shooting not only pieces of iron, and small bullets, but also the organs of the church, discharging in every shoot threescore pipes at a time.

Notwithstanding this heat of the enemy, captain *Don Joseph Ramirez de Leyva*, with 60 Men, made a strong attack, wherein they fought on both sides very desperately, till at last he overcame, and forced the pirates to surrender the fort.

On the other side, Captain *John Galeno*, with 90 men, passed over the hills, to advance that way towards the castle of *St. Teresa*; mean while, Major *Don Joseph Sanchez Ximenez*, as commander in chief, with the rest of his men, set forth from the battery of *St. James*, passing the port with four boats, and landing in despite of the enemy. About this same time Captain *John Galeno* began to advance with the men he led to the fore-mentioned fort, so that our men made three attacks on three several sides, at one and the same time, with great courage, till the pirates seeing many of their men already killed, and that they could in no manner subsist any longer, retreated towards *Cortadura*, where they surrendered themselves, and the whole island into our hands. Our people possessed themselves of all, and set up the Spanish colours, as soon as they had rendered thanks to God Almighty for the victory obtained.

obtained on such a signalized day. The number of dead were six men of the enemies, with many wounded, and seventy prisoners: on our side was only one man killed, and four wounded.

There were found on the island 800 pounds of powder, 250 pounds of small bullets, with many other military provisions. Among the prisoners were taken also two Spaniards, who had bore arms under the English against his Catholick Majesty: these were shot to death the next day by order of the major. The 10th day of September arrived at the island an English vessel, which being seen at a great distance by the major, he ordered Le Sicur Simon, who was a Frenchman, to go and visit the said ship, and tell them that were on board, that the island still belonged to the English. He performed the command, and found in the said ship only 14 men, one woman and her daughter, who were all instantly made prisoners.

The English pirates were all transported to Puerto Velo, excepting three, who by order of the governor were carried to Panama, there to work in the castle of St. Jerom. This fortification is an excellent piece of workmanship, and very strong, being raised in the middle of the port of a quadrangular form, and of very hard stone: its height is 38 geometrical feet, the wall being 14, and the curtains 5 feet diameter. It was built at the expence of several private persons, the governor of the city furnishing the greatest part of the money; so that it cost his majesty nothing.

## CHAP. XII.

*Of the island of Cuba. Captain Morgan attempts to preserve the isle of St. Catharine as a refuge to the nest of pirates; but fails of his design. He arrives at, and takes the village of el Puerto Principe.*

CAPTAIN Morgan seeing his predecessor and admiral Mansvelt were dead, used all the means that were possible, to keep in possession the isle of St. Catharine, seated near Cuba. His chief intention was to make it a refuge and sanctuary to the pirates of those parts, putting it in a condition of being a convenient receptacle of their preys and robberies. To this effect he left no stone unmoved, writing to several merchants in Virginia and New-England, persuading them to send him provisions and necessaries towards putting the said island in such a posture of defence, as to fear no danger of invasion from any side. But all this proved ineffectual, by the Spaniards retaking the said island: yet Captain Morgan retained his courage, which put him on new designs. First, he equipped a ship, in order to gather a fleet as great, and as strong as he could. By degrees he effected it, and gave orders to every member of his fleet to meet at a certain port of Cuba, there determining to call a council, and deliberate what was best to be done, and what place first to fall upon. Leaving these preparations in this condition, I shall give my reader some small account of the said isle of Cuba, in whose port this expedition was hatched, seeing I omitted to do it in its proper place.

Cuba lies from east to west, in north latitude 20 to 23 deg. in length 150 German leagues, and



out 40 in breadth. Its fertility is equal to that of Hispaniola; besides which, it affords many things proper for trading and commerce; such as hides of several beasts, particularly those that in Europe are called hides of Havanna. On all sides it is surrounded with many small islands, called the Cayos: these little islands the pirates use as ports of refuge. Here they have their meetings, and hold their councils, how best to assault the Spaniards. It is watered on all sides with plentiful and pleasant rivers, whose entries form both secure and spacious ports, besides many other harbours for ships, which along the calm shores and coasts adorn this rich and beautiful island; all which contribute much to its happiness, by facilitating trade, whereto they invited both natives and aliens. The chief of these ports are San Jago, Byame, Santa Maria, Espiritu Santo, Trinidad, Zagoa, Cabo de Corientes, and others, on the south side of the island; on the north side are, La Havanna, Puerto Mariano, Santa Cruz, Matanzas, and Barracoa.

This island hath two chief cities, to which all the towns and villages thereof give obedience. The first is Santa Jago, or St. James, seated on the south-side, and having under its jurisdiction one half of the island. The chief magistrates hereof are a bishop and a governor, who command the villages and towns of the said half. The chief of these are, on the south-side, Espiritu Santo, Puerto del Principe, and Bayame. On the north it has Barracoa, and De los Cayos. The greatest part of the commerce driven here comes from the Canaries, whither they transport much tobacco, sugar, and hides, which sort of merchandize are drawn to the head city from the subordinate towns and villages. Formerly this city of Santo Jago was miserably sacked by the pirates of Jamaica and Tortuga, though it is defended by a considerable castle.

The

The city and port de la Havanna lie between the north and west side of the island : this is one of the strongest places of the West-Indies ; its jurisdiction extends over the other half of the island ; the chief places under it being Santa Cruz on the north side and la Trinidad on the south. Hence is transported huge quantities of tobacco, which is sent to New-Spain and Costa Rica, even as far as the South-Sea, besides many ships laden with this commodity, that are consigned to Spain and other parts of Europe, not only in the leaf but in rolls. This city is defended by three castles, very great and strong, two of which lie towards the port, and the other is seated on a hill that commands the town. It is esteemed to contain about 10,000 families. The merchants of this place trade in New-Spain, Campeachy, Honduras, and Florida. All ships that come from the parts before-mentioned, as also from the Caraccas, Carthagena, and Costa Rica, are necessitated to take their provisions in at Havanna to make their voyage for Spain ; this being the necessary and strait course they must steer for the south of Europe and other parts. The plate-fleet of Spain, which the Spaniards call Flota, being homeward bound touches here yearly to complete their cargo with hides, tobacco, and Campeachy wood.

Captain Morgan had been but two months in these parts of the south of Cuba, when he had gathered together a fleet of twelve sail, between ships and great boats, with 700 fighting men, part English and part French. They called a council, and some advised to assault the city of Havanna in the night, which they said might easily be done, if they could but take any few of the ecclesiasticks ; yea, that the city might be sacked before the castles could put themselves in a posture of defence. Others proposed, according to their several opinions, other

attempts

tempts; but the former proposal was rejected, because many of the pirates, who had been prisoners at other times in the said city, affirmed nothing of consequence could be done with less than two hundred men. Moreover, that with all these people, they ought to go first to the island de los Pinos, and then to the small boats about Matamona, fourteen leagues from the said city, whereby to accomplish their designs.

Finally, they saw no possibility of gathering so great a fleet, and hereupon, with what they had, they concluded to attempt some other place. Among the rest, one propounded they should assault the town of el Puerto del Principe. This proposition was perswaded to, by saying he knew that place very well, and that being at a distance from sea, it never was sacked by any pirates, whereby the inhabitants were rich, exercising their trade by ready money, with those of Havanna, who kept here an established commerce, chiefly in hides. This proposal was presently admitted by Captain Morgan, and the chief of his companions. Hereupon they ordered every captain to weigh anchor and set sail, steering towards that coast nearest to el Puerto del Principe. There is a bay named by the Spaniards el Puerto de Santa Maria: being arrived at this bay, a Spaniard, who was prisoner aboard the fleet, swam ashore by night to the town of el Puerto del Principe, giving an account to the inhabitants of the design of the pirates, which he overheard in their discourse, while they thought he did not understand English. The Spaniards upon this advice began to hide their riches, and carry away the moveables; the governor immediately raised all the people of the town, freemen and slaves, and with part of them took a post by which of necessity the pirates must pass, and commanded many trees to be cut down and

and laid across the ways to hinder their passage, placing several ambuscades, strengthened with four pieces of cannon to play upon them on their march. He gathered in all about 800 men, of which detaching part into the said ambuscades, with the rest he begirt the town, drawing them up in a spacious field, whence they could see the coming of the pirates at length.

Captain Morgan with his men, now on the march, found the avenues of the town unpassable; but upon they took their way through the wood, traversing it with great difficulty, whereby they escaped divers ambuscades; at last they came to the plain from its figure called by the Spaniards *la Savana* or the Sheet. The governor seeing them come detached a troop of horse to charge them in the front, thinking to disperse them, and to pursue them with his main body; but this design succeeded not, for the pirates marched in very good order, at the sound of their drums, and with flying colours coming near the horse they drew into a semi-circle and so advanced towards the Spaniards, who charged them violently for a while; but the pirates being very dextrous at their arms, and their governor with many of their companions, being killed, they retreated towards the wood, to save themselves some more advantage; but before they could reach the most of them were unfortunately killed by the pirates. Thus they left the victory to these new come enemies, who had no considerable loss of men in the battle, and but very few wounded. The skirmish lasted four hours. They entered the town not without great resistance of such as were within who defended themselves as long as possible, but many seeing the enemy in the town, shut themselves up in their own houses, and thence made several shot upon the pirates; who thereupon threatened

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hem, saying, ' If you surrender not voluntarily, you shall soon see the town in a flame, and your wives and children torn in pieces before your faces.' Upon these menaces the Spaniards submitted to the discretion of the pirates, believing they could not continue there long.

As soon as the pirates had possessed themselves of the town, they enclosed all the Spaniards, men, women, children, and slaves, in several churches, and pillaged all the goods they could find; then they searched the country round about, bringing in daily many goods and prisoners, with much provision. With this they fell to making great cheer, after their old custom, without remembering the poor prisoners, whom they let starve in the churches, though they tormented them daily and inhumanly to make them confess where they had hid their goods, money, &c. though little or nothing was left them, not sparing the women and little children, giving them nothing to eat, whereby the greatest part perished.

Pillage and provisions growing scarce, they thought convenient to depart and seek new fortunes in other places: they told the prisoners, ' they should find money to ransom themselves, else they should be all transported to Jamaica; and beside, if they did not pay a second ransom for the town, they would turn every house in ashes.' The Spaniards thereupon nominated among themselves four fellow prisoners to go and seek for the above-mentioned contributions; but the pirates, to the intent they should return speedily with those ransoms, tormented several cruelly in their presence, before they departed. After a few days the Spaniards returned, telling captain Morgan, ' We have ran up and down, and searched all the neighbouring woods and places we most suspected, and yet have not been able



' to find any of our own party, nor consequently  
 ' any fruit of our embassy ; but if you are pleased  
 ' to have a little longer patience with us, we shall  
 ' certainly cause all that you demand to be paid  
 ' within 15 days ;' which captain Morgan granted.  
 But not long after, there came into the town seven  
 or eight pirates who had been ranging in the woods  
 and fields, and got considerable booty. They  
 brought amongst other prisoners a negro, whom they  
 had taken with letters. Captain Morgan having  
 perused them, found they were from the governor  
 of Santa Jago, being written to some of the prisoners  
 wherein he told them, ' they should not make too  
 ' much haste to pay any ransom for their towns  
 ' persons, or any other pretext ; but on the contrary,  
 ' trary, they should put off the pirates as well as  
 ' they could with excuses and delays, expecting  
 ' be relieved by him in a short time, when he would  
 ' certainly come to their aid.' Upon this intelligence  
 captain Morgan immediately ordered all their plunder  
 to be carried aboard ; and withal, he told the  
 Spaniards, that the very next day they should pay  
 their ransoms, for he would not wait a moment  
 longer, but reduce the whole town to ashes, if they  
 failed of the sum he demanded.

With this intimation, captain Morgan made  
 mention to the Spaniards of the letters he had  
 intercepted. They answered, ' that it was impossible  
 ' for them to give such a sum of money in so short  
 ' a space of time, seeing their fellow townsmen were  
 ' not to be found in all the country thereabouts.  
 Captain Morgan knew full well their intentions,  
 but thought it not convenient to stay there any longer,  
 demanding of them only 500 oxen or cows, with  
 sufficient salt to powder them, with this condition  
 that they should carry them on board his ship.  
 Thus he departed with all his men, taking with

him only six of the principal prisoners as pledges. Next day the Spaniards brought the cattle and salt to the ships, and required the prisoners; but captain Morgan refused to deliver them, till they had helped his men to kill and salt the beeves: this was performed in great haste, he not caring to stay there any longer, lest he should be surprized by the forces that were gathering against him; and having received all on board his vessels, he set at liberty the hostages. Mean while there happened some dissensions between the English and the French: the occasion was as follows; a Frenchman being employed in killing and salting the beeves, an English pirate took away the marrow-bones he had taken out of the ox, which these people esteem much; hereupon they challenged one another: being come to the place of duel, the Englishman stabbed the Frenchman in the back, whereby he fell down dead. The other Frenchman, desirous of revenge, made an insurrection against the English; but captain Morgan soon appeased them, by putting the criminal in chains to be carried to Jamaica, promising he would do justice done upon him; for though he might challenge his adversary, yet it was not lawful to kill him treacherously as he did.

All things being ready, and on board, and the prisoners set at liberty, they sailed thence to a certain island, where captain Morgan intended to make a dividend of what they had purchased in that voyage; where being arrived, they found nigh the sum of 50,000 pieces of eight in money and goods; the sum being known, it caused a general grief to such a small purchase, not sufficient to pay their debts at Jamaica. Hereupon captain Morgan proposed they should think on some other enterprize and voyage before they returned. But the French not being able to agree with the English, left captain

Morgan with those of his own nation, notwithstanding all the persuasions he used to reduce them to continue in his company. Thus they parted with all external signs of friendship, captain Morgan reiterating his promises to them, that he would see justice done on that criminal. This he performed; for being arrived at Jamaica, he caused him to be hanged, which was all the satisfaction the French pirates could expect.

## C H A P. XIII.

*Captain Morgan resolving to attack and plunder the city of Puerto Bello, equips a fleet, and with little expence and small forces takes it*

SOME may think that the French having deserted captain Morgan, the English alone could not have sufficient courage to attempt such great actions as before. But captain Morgan, who always communicated vigour with his words, infused such spirit into his men, as put them instantly upon new designs; they being all persuaded that the sole execution of his orders would be a certain means of obtaining great riches, which so influenced their minds, that with inimitable courage they resolved to follow him, as did also a certain pirate of Campeachy, who on this occasion joined with captain Morgan, to seek new fortunes under his conduct. Thus captain Morgan in a few days gathered a fleet of nine sail, either ships or great boats, wherein he had 460 military men.

All things being ready, they put forth to sea; captain Morgan imparting his design to no body present; he only told them on several occasions that he doubted not to make a good fortune by the voyage, if strange occurrences happened not. The

steered towards the continent, where they arrived in a few days near Costa Rica, all their fleet safe. No sooner had they discovered land, but captain Morgan declared his intentions to the captains, and presently after to the company. He told them he intended to plunder Puerto Bello by night, being resolved to put the whole city to the sack: and to encourage them he added, this enterprize could not fail, seeing he had kept it secret, without revealing it to any body, whereby they could not have notice of his coming. To this proposition some answered, they had not a sufficient number of men to assault so strong and great a city. But captain Morgan replied, 'If our number is small, our hearts are great; and the fewer persons we are, the more union and better shares we shall have in the spoil.' Hereupon, being stimulated with the hope of those vast riches they promised themselves from their success, they unanimously agreed to that design. Now, that my reader may better comprehend the boldness of this exploit, it may be necessary to say something before-hand of the city of Puerto Bello.

This city is in the province of Costa Rica, 10 degrees north latitude, 14 leagues from the gulf of Darien, and eight westwards from the port called Nombre de Dios. It is judged the strongest place the king of Spain possesses in all the West-Indies, except Havana and Carthagena. Here are two castles almost impregnable, that defend the city, situate at the entry of the port, so that no ship or boat can pass without permission. The garrison consists of 300 soldiers, and the town is inhabited by about 400 families. The merchants dwell not here, but only reside awhile, when the galleons come from or go to Spain, by reason of the unhealthiness of the air, occasioned by vapours from the mountains; so that though their chief warehouses are at Puerto Bello, their

their habitations are at Panama, whence they bring the plate upon mules, when the fair begins, and when the ships belonging to the company of Negroes arrive to sell slaves.

Captain Morgan, who knew very well all the avenues of this city and the neighbouring coasts, arrived in the dusk of the evening at Puerto de Naos, 10 leagues to the west of Puerto Bello: being come hither, they sailed up the river to another harbour, called Puerto Pontin, where they anchored: here they put themselves in boats and canoes, leaving in the ships only a few men to bring them next day to the port. About midnight they came to a place called Estera longa Lemos, where they all went on shore, and marched by land to the first posts of the city: they had in their company an Englishman, formerly a prisoner in those parts, who now served them for a guide to him and three or four more they gave commission to take the centinel, if possible, or kill him on the place: but they seized him so cunningly, as he had no time to give warning with his musket, or make any noise, and brought him, with his hands bound, to captain Morgan, who asked him how things went in the city, and what forces they had; with other circumstances he desired to know. After every question, they made him a thousand menaces to kill him, if he declared not the truth. Then they advanced to the city, carrying the said centinel bound before them: having marched about a quarter of a league, they came to the castle near the city, which presently they closely surrounded, so that no person could get either in or out.

Being posted under the walls of the castle, captain Morgan commanded the centinel, whom they had taken prisoner, to speak to those within, charging them to surrender to his discretion; otherwise they should be all cut in pieces, without quarter. But they regarding none of these threats, began instantly



to fire, which alarmed the city; yet notwithstanding, though the governor and soldiers of the said castle made as great resistance as could be, they were forced to surrender. Having taken the castle, they resolved to be as good as their words, putting the Spaniards to the sword, thereby to strike a terror into the rest of the city. Whereupon, having shut up all the soldiers and officers as prisoners into one room, they set fire to the powder (whereof they found great quantity) and blew up the castle into the air, with all the Spaniards that were within. This done, they pursued the course of their victory, falling upon the city, which, as yet, was not ready to receive them. Many of the inhabitants cast their precious jewels and money into wells and cisterns, or hid them in places under ground, to avoid, as much as possible, being totally robbed. One party of the pirates, assigned to this purpose, ran immediately to the cloisters, and took as many religious men and women as they could find. The governor of the city, not being able to rally the citizens, through their great confusion, retired to one of the castles remaining, and thence fired incessantly at the pirates: but these were not in the least negligent either to assault him, or defend themselves; so that amidst the horror of the assault, they made very few shots in vain; for aiming with great dexterity at the mouths of the guns, the Spaniards were certain to lose one or two men every time they charged each gun a-new.

This continued very furious from break of day till noon; yea, about this time of the day the case was very dubious which party should conquer, or be conquered. At last, the pirates perceiving they had lost many men, and yet advanced but little towards the gaining either this, or the other castles, made use of fire-balls, which they threw with their hands, designing to burn the doors of the castles:

but the Spaniards from the walls let fall great quantities of stones, and earthen pots full of powder, and other combustible matter, which forced them to desist. Captain Morgan seeing this generous defence made by the Spaniards, began to despair of success. Hereupon many faint and calm meditations came into his mind; neither could he determine which way to turn himself in that streight. Being thus puzzled, he was suddenly animated to continue the assault, by seeing English colours put forth at one of the lesser castles, then entered by his men; of whom he presently after spied a troop coming to meet him, proclaiming victory with loud shouts of joy. This instantly put him on new resolutions of taking the rest of the castles, especially seeing the chiefest citizens were fled to them, and had conveyed thither great part of their riches, with all the plate belonging to the churches and divine service.

To this effect he ordered ten or twelve ladders to be made in all haste, so broad, that three or four men at once might ascend them: these being finished, he commanded all the religious men and women, whom he had taken prisoners, to fix them against the walls of the castle. This he had before threatened the governor to do, if he delivered not the castle: but his answer was, 'He would never surrender himself alive.' Captain Morgan was persuaded the governor would not employ his utmost force, seeing the religious women, and ecclesiastical persons, exposed in the front of the soldiers to the greatest danger. Thus the ladders, as I have said, were put into the hands of religious persons of both sexes, and these were forced, at the head of the companies, to raise and apply them to the walls; but captain Morgan was fully deceived in his judgment of this design; for the governor, who acted

acted like a brave soldier in performance of his duty, used his utmost endeavour to destroy whosoever came near the walls. The religious men and women ceased not to cry to him, and beg of him, by all the Saints of Heaven, to deliver the castle, and spare both his and their own lives; but nothing could prevail with his obstinacy and fierceness. Thus many of the religious men and nuns were killed before they could fix the ladders; which, at last, being done, though with great loss of the said religious people, the pirates mounted them in great numbers, and with not less valour, having fire-balls in their hands, and earthen pots full of powder; all which things, being now at the top of the walls, they kindled and cast in among the Spaniards.

This effort of the pirates was very great, inso-much that the Spaniards could no longer resist nor defend the castle, which was now entered. Hereupon they all threw down their arms, and craved quarter for their lives; only the governor of the city would crave no mercy, but killed many of the pirates with his own hands, and not a few of his own soldiers, because they did not stand to their arms. And though the pirates asked him if he would have quarter; yet he constantly answered, 'By no means, I had rather die as a valiant soldier, than be hanged as a coward.' They endeavoured as much as they could to take him prisoner, but he defended himself so obstinately, that they were forced to kill him, notwithstanding all the cries and tears of his own wife and daughter, who begged him, on their knees, to demand quarter, and save his life. When the pirates had possessed themselves of the castle, which was about night, they inclosed therein all the prisoners, placing the women and men by themselves, with some guards: the wounded were put in an apartment by itself, that their

own complaints might be the cure of their diseases for no other was afforded them.

This done, they fell to eating and drinking as usual; that is, committing in both all manner of debauchery and excess: these two vices were immediately followed by many insolent actions of rape and adultery, committed on many very honest women, as well married as virgins; who being threatened with the sword, were constrained to submit their bodies to the violence of those lewd and wicked men. Thus they gave themselves up to all sorts of debauchery, that fifty courageous men might easily have retaken the city, and killed all the pirates. Next day, having plundered all they could find, they examined some of the prisoners, (who had been persuaded by their companions to say they were the richest of the town) charging them severely to discover where they had hid their riches and goods. Not being able to extort any thing from them, they not being the right persons, it was resolved to torture them: this they did so cruelly that many of them died on the rack, or presently after. Now the president of Panama being advertised of the pillage and ruin of Puerto Bello, he employed all his care and industry to raise forces to pursue and cast out the pirates thence; but he cared little for his preparations, having their ships at hand, and determining to fire the city, and retreat. They had now been at Puerto Bello fifteen days, in which time they had lost many of their men, both by the unhealthiness of the country, and their extravagant debaucheries.

Hereupon they prepared to depart, carrying on board all the pillage they had got, having first provided the fleet with sufficient victuals for the voyage. While these things were doing, captain Morgan demanded of the prisoners a ransom for the city, and

else he would burn it down, and blow up all the castles; withal, he commanded them to send speedily two persons, to procure the sum, which was 100,000 pieces of eight. To this effect, two men were sent to the president of Panama, who gave him an account of all. The president having now a body of men ready, set forth towards Puerto Bello, to encounter the pirates before their retreat; but they hearing of his coming, instead of flying away, went out to meet him at a narrow passage, which he must pass: here they placed 100 men, very well armed, which at the first encounter put to flight a good party of those of Panama. This obliged the president to retire for that time, not being yet in a posture of strength to proceed farther. Presently after, he sent a message to captain Morgan, to tell him, 'that if he departed not suddenly with all his forces from Puerto Bello, he ought to expect no quarter for himself, nor his companions, when he should take them, as he hoped soon to do.' Captain Morgan, who feared not his threats, knowing he had a secure retreat in his ships, which were at hand, answered, 'He would not deliver the castles, before he had received the contribution money he had demanded; which, if it were not paid down, he would certainly burn the whole city, and then leave it, demolishing before-hand the castles, and killing the prisoners.'

The governor of Panama perceived by this answer, that no means would serve to mollify the hearts of the pirates, nor reduce them to reason: hereupon he determined to leave them, as also those of the city whom he came to relieve, involved in the difficulties of making the best agreement they could. Thus in a few days more the miserable citizens gathered the contribution required, and brought 100,000 pieces of eight to the pirates for



a ransom of their cruel captivity : but the president of Panama was much amazed to consider that 400 men could take such a great city, with so many strong castles, especially having no ordnance wherewith to raise batteries ; and, what was more, knowing the citizens of Puerto Bello had always great-repute of being good soldiers themselves, and who never wanted courage in their own defence. This astonishment was so great, as made him send to captain Morgan, desiring some small pattern of those arms wherewith he had taken with such vigour so great a city. Captain Morgan received this message very kindly, and with great civility ; and gave him a pistol, and a few small bullets, to carry back to the president his master ; telling him, withal, ' He desired him to accept that slender pattern of the arms wherewith he had taken Puerto Bello, and keep them for a twelve-month ; after which time he promised to come to Panama, and fetch them away.' The governor returned the present very soon to captain Morgan, giving him thanks for the favour of lending him such weapons as he needed not ; and, withal, sent him a ring of gold, with this message, ' that he desired him not to give himself the labour of coming to Panama, as he had done to Puerto Bello ; for he did assure him, he should not speed so well here, as he had done there.'

After this, Captain Morgan (having provided his fleet with all necessaries, and taken with him the best guns of the castles, nailing up the rest) set sail from Puerto Bello with all his ships, and arriving in a few days at Cuba, he sought out a place wherein he might quickly make the dividend of their spoil. They found in ready money 250,000 pieces of eight, besides other merchandizes ; as cloth, linen, silks, &c. With this rich purchase they sailed thence

to their common place of rendezvous, Jamaica. Being arrived, they passed here some time in all sorts of vices and debaucheries, according to their custom; spending very prodigally what others had gained with no small labour and toil.

## C H A P. XIV.

*Captain Morgan takes the city of Maracaibo on the coast of Neuva Venezuela. Piracies committed in those seas. Ruin of three Spanish ships sent forth to hinder the robberies of the pirates.*

NOT long after their arrival at Jamaica, being that short time they needed to lavish away all the riches above-mentioned, they concluded on another enterprize to seek new fortunes: to this effect, captain Morgan ordered all the commanders of his ships to meet at De la Vacca, or the Cow Isle, south of Hispaniola, as is said. Hither flocked to them great numbers of other pirates, French and English; the name of captain Morgan being now famous in all the neighbouring countries for his great enterprizes. There was then at Jamaica an English ship newly come from New England, well mounted with 36 guns: this vessel, by order of the governor of Jamaica, joined captain Morgan to strengthen his fleet, and give him greater courage to attempt mighty things. With this supply, captain Morgan judged himself sufficiently strong; but there being in the same place another great vessel of 24 iron guns, and 12 brass ones, belonging to the French, captain Morgan endeavoured also to join this ship to his own; but the French not daring to trust the English, denied absolutely to consent.

The French pirates belonging to this great ship had met at sea an English vessel; and being under great

great want of victuals, they had taken some provisions out of the English ship, without paying for them, having, perhaps, no ready money aboard; only they gave them bills of exchange for Jamaica and Tortuga, to receive money there. Captain Morgan having notice of this, and perceiving he could not prevail with the French captain to follow him, resolved to lay hold on this occasion, to ruin the French, and seek his revenge. Hereupon he invited, with dissimulation, the French commander, and several of his men, to dine with him on board the great ship that was come to Jamaica, as is said; being come, he made them all prisoners, pretending the injury aforesaid done to the English vessel.

This unjust action of captain Morgan was soon followed by divine punishment, as we may conceive: the manner I shall instantly relate. Captain Morgan, presently after he had taken these French prisoners, called a council to deliberate what place they should first pitch upon in this new expedition. Here it was determined to go to the isle of Savona, to wait for the Flota then expected from Spain, and take any of the Spanish vessels straggling from the rest. This resolution being taken, they began aboard the great ship to feast one another for joy of their new voyage, and happy council, as they hoped: they drank many healths, and discharged many guns, the common sign of mirth among seamen. Most of the men being drunk, by what accident is not known, the ship suddenly was blown up, with 350 Englishmen, besides the French Prisoners in the hold; of all which, there escaped but 30 men, who were in the great cabin, at some distance from the main force of the powder. Many more, it is thought, might have escaped, had they not been so much overtaken with wine.

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This loss brought much consternation of mind upon the English; they knew not whom to blame, but at last the accusation was laid on the French prisoners, whom they suspected to have fired the powder of the ship out of revenge, though with the loss of their own lives: hereupon they added new accusations to their former, whereby to seize the ship and all that was in it, by saying the French designed to commit piracy on the English. The grounds of this accusation were given by a commission from the governor of Barracoa, found aboard the French vessel, wherein were these words, 'that the said governor did permit the French to trade in all Spanish ports, &c.—As also to cruise on the English pirates in what place soever they could find them, because of the multitude of hostilities which they had committed against the subjects of his catholick majesty in time of peace betwixt the two crowns.' This commission for trade was interpreted as an expresse order to exercise piracy and war against them, though it was only a bare licence for coming into the Spanish ports; the cloak of which permission were those words, 'that they should cruise upon the English.' And though the French did sufficiently expound the true sense of it, yet they could not clear themselves to captain Morgan, nor his council; but in lieu thereof, the ship and men were seized and sent to Jamaica. Here they also endeavoured to obtain justice, and the restitution of their ship, but all in vain; for instead of justice, they were long detained in prison, and threatened with hanging.

Eight days after the loss of the said ship, captain Morgan commanded the bodies of the miserable wretches who were blown up to be searched for, as they floated on the sea; not to afford them christian burial, but for their clothes and attire;  
and

and if any had gold rings on their fingers, these were cut off, leaving them exposed to the voracity of the monsters of the sea. At last they set sail for Savona, the place of their assignation. There were in all 15 vessels, captain Morgan commanding the biggest, of only 14 small guns; his number of men was 960. Few days after, they arrived at the Cabo de Lobos, south of Hispaniola, between Cape Tiburon and Cape Punta de Espada: hence they could not pass by reason of contrary winds for three weeks, notwithstanding all the utmost endeavours captain Morgan used to get forth; then they doubled the Cape, and spied an English vessel at a distance. Having spoken with her, they found she came from England, and bought of her for ready money some provisions they wanted.

Captain Morgan proceeded in his voyage till he came to the port of Ocoa; here he landed some men, sending them into the woods to seek water and provisions; the better to spare such as he had already on board. They killed many beasts, and among others some horses. But the Spaniards, not well satisfied at their hunting, laid a stratagem for them, ordering three or four hundred men to come from Santo Domingo not far distant, and desiring them to hunt in all the parts thereabout near the sea, that so, if the pirates should return, they might find no subsistence. Within few days the same pirates returned to hunt, but finding nothing to kill, a party of about fifty straggled farther on into the woods. The Spaniards, who watched all their motions, gathered a great herd of cows, and set two or three men to keep them. The pirates having spied them, killed a sufficient number; and though the Spaniards could see them at a distance, yet they would not hinder them at present; but as soon as they attempted to carry them away, they  
set



et upon them furiously, crying, Mata, mata, i.e. kill, kill. Thus the pirates were compelled to quit the prey, and retreat to their ships; but they did in good order, retiring by degrees, and when they had opportunity, discharging full vollies on the Spaniards, killing many of their enemies, tho' with some loss.

The Spaniards seeing their damage, endeavoured to save themselves by flight, and carry off their dead and wounded companions. The pirates perceiving them flee, would not content themselves with what hurt they had already done, but pursued them speedily into the woods, and killed the greatest part of those that remained. Next day captain Morgan, extremely offended at what had passed, went himself with 200 men into the woods to seek for the rest of the Spaniards, but finding no body, he revenged his wrath on the houses of the poor and miserable rusticks that inhabit those scattering fields and woods, of which he burnt a great number: with this he returned to his ships, somewhat more satisfied in his mind, for having done some considerable damage to the enemy, which was always his most ardent desire.

The impatience wherewith captain Morgan had waited a long while for some of his ships not yet arrived, made him resolve to sail away without them, and steer for Savona, the place he always designed. Being arrived, and not finding any of his ships come, he was more impatient and concerned than before, fearing their loss, or that he must proceed without them; but he waiting for their arrival a few days longer, and having no great plenty of provisions, he sent a crew of 150 men to Hispaniola to pillage some towns near Santo Domingo; but the Spaniards, upon intelligence of their coming, were so vigilant, and in such good posture of defence, that the pirates thought

thought not convenient to assault them, choosing rather to return empty-handed to captain Morgan than to perish in that desperate enterprize.

At last captain Morgan, seeing the other ships did not come, made a review of his people, and found only about 500 men; the ships wanting were seven, he only having eight in his company, of which the greatest part were very small. Having hitherto resolved to cruise on the coasts of Carraccas, and to plunder the towns and villages there, finding himself at present with such small forces, he changed his resolution by advice of a French captain in his fleet. This Frenchman having served Lolonois in the like enterprizes, and at the taking of Maracaibo, knew all the entries, passages, forces, and means how to put in execution the same again in company of captain Morgan; to whom having made a full relation of all, he concluded to sack it the second time, being himself persuaded, with all his men, of the facility the Frenchman propounded. Hereupon they weighed anchor, and steered towards Curacao. Being come within sight of it, they landed at another island near it, called Ruba, about twelve leagues from Curacao to the west. This island, defended by a slender garrison, is inhabited by Indians subject to Spain, and speak Spanish, by reason of the Roman catholick religion here cultivated by a few priests sent from the neighbouring continent.

The inhabitants exercise commerce or trade with the pirates that go and come this way: they buy of the islanders sheep, lambs, and kids, which they exchange for linen, thread, and like things. The country is very dry and barren, the whole substance thereof consisting in those three things, and a little indifferent wheat. This isle produces many venomous insects, as vipers, spiders, and others. These last are so pernicious, that a man bitten by them dies

ies mad; and the manner of recovering such, is to tie them very fast both hands and feet, and so to leave them twenty four hours, without eating or drinking any thing. Captain Morgan, as was said, having cast anchor before this island, bought of the inhabitants sheep, lambs, and wood for all his fleet. After two days, he sailed again in the night, to the intent they might not see what course he steered.

Next day they arrived at the sea of Maracaibo, taking great care not to be seen from Vigilia, for which reason they anchored out of sight of it. Night being come, they set sail again towards the land, and next morning, by break of day, were got directly over against the Bar of the said lake. The Spaniards had built another fort since the action of Colonois, whence they now fired continually against the pirates, while they put their men into boats to land. The dispute continued very hot, being managed with great courage from morning till dark night. This being come, captain Morgan, in the obscurity thereof, drew nigh the fort, which having examined, he found no body in it, the Spaniards having deserted it not long before. They left behind them a match lighted near a train of powder, to have blown up the pirates and the whole fortress as soon as they were in it. This design had taken effect, had not the pirates discovered it in a quarter of an hour; but captain Morgan snatching away the match, saved both his own and his companions lives. They found here much powder, whereof he provided his fleet, and then demolished part of the walls, nailing 16 pieces of ordnance from 12 to 24 pounders. Here they also found many musquets and other military provisions.

Next day they commanded the ships to enter the Bar; among which they divided the powder, musquets,

quets, and other things found in the fort: then they embarked again to continue their course towards Maracaibo; but the waters being very low, they could not pass a certain bank at the entry of the lake: hereupon they were compelled to go into canoes and small boats, with which they arrived next day before Maracaibo, having no other defence than some small-pieces which they could carry in the said boats. Being landed, they ran immediately to the fort de la Barra, which they found as the precedent, without any person in it, for all were fled into the woods, leaving also the town without any people, unless a few miserable folks, who had nothing to lose.

As soon as they had entered the towns, the pirates searched every corner to see if they could find any people that were hid, who might offend them unawares; not finding any body, every party as they came out of their several ships, chose what houses they pleased. The church was deputed for the common corps du guard, where they lived after their military manner, very insolently. Next day after they sent a troop of 100 men to seek for the inhabitants and their goods: these returned next day, bringing with them thirty persons, men, women, and children, and fifty mules loaden with good merchandise. All these miserable people were put to the rack, to make them confess where the rest of the inhabitants were, and their goods. Among other tortures, one was to stretch their limbs with cords, and then to beat them with sticks and other instruments. Others had burning matches placed betwixt their fingers, which were thus burnt alive. Others had slender cords or matches twisted about their heads, till their eyes burst out. Thus all inhuman cruelties were executed on those innocent people. Those who would not confess, or who

had

had nothing to declare, died under the hands of those villains. These tortures and racks continued for three whole weeks, in which time they sent out daily parties to seek for more people to torment and rob, they never returning without booty and new riches.

Captain Morgan having now gotten into his hands about 100 of the chief families, with all their goods, at last resolved for Gibraltar, as Lolonois had done before: with this design he equipped his fleet, providing it sufficiently with all necessaries. He put likewise on board all the prisoners, and weighing anchor, set sail with resolution to hazard a battle. They had sent before some prisoners to Gibraltar, to require the inhabitants to surrender, otherwise captain Morgan would certainly put them all to the sword, without any quarter. Arriving before Gibraltar, the inhabitants received him with continual shooting of great cannon bullets; but the pirates, instead of fainting hereat, ceased not to encourage one another, saying, 'We must make one meal upon bitter things, before we come to taste the sweetness of the sugar this place affords.'

Next day very early they landed all their men, and being guided by the Frenchman abovesaid, they marched towards the town; not by the common way, but crossing through woods, which way the Spaniards scarce thought they would have come; for at the beginning of their march, they made as if they intended to come the next and open way to the town, hereby to deceive the Spaniards; but these remembering full well what Lolonois had done but two years before, thought it not safe to expect a second brunt, and hereupon all fled out of the town as fast as they could, carrying all their goods and riches, as also all the powder; and having nailed all the great guns, so as the pirates found not

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one person in the whole city, but one poor innocent man who was born a fool. This man they asked whither the inhabitants were fled, and where they had hid their goods : to all which questions and the like, he constantly answered, ' I know nothing, ' know nothing ; ' but they presently put him to the rack, and tortured him with cords ; which torment forced him to cry out, ' Do not torture me any more, ' but come with me, and I will shew you my goods, ' and my riches.' They were persuaded, it seemed he was some rich person disguised under those clothes so poor, and that innocent tongue ; so they went along with him, and he conducted them to a poor miserable cottage, wherein he had a few earthen dishes and other things of no value, and three pieces of eight, concealed with some other trumpery underground. Then they asked him his name, and he readily answered, ' My name is Don Sebastian Sanchez, and I am brother unto the governor of Maracaibo.' This foolish answer, it must be conceived, these inhuman wretches took for truth ; for no sooner had they heard it, but they put him again upon the rack, lifting him up on high with cords, and tying huge weights to his feet and neck. Besides which, they burnt him alive, applying palm-leaves burning to his face.

The same day they sent out a party to seek for the inhabitants, on whom they might exercise their cruelties. These brought back an honest peasant with two daughters of his, whom they intended to torture as they used others, if they shewed not the places where the inhabitants were hid. The peasant knew some of those places, and seeing himself threatened with the rack, went with the pirates to shew them ; but the Spaniards perceiving their enemies to range every where up and down the woods, were already fled thence farther off into the thickest of the woods.

oods, where they built themselves huts, to preserve from the weather those few goods they had. The pirates judged themselves deceived by the peasant, thereupon, to revenge themselves, notwithstanding his excuses and supplication, they hanged him to a tree.

Then they divided into parties to search the plantations; for they knew the Spaniards that were abandoned could not live on what the woods afforded, without coming now and then for provisions to their country houses. Here they found a slave, to whom they promised mountains of gold, and his liberty, by transporting him to Jamaica, if he would shew them where the inhabitants of Gibraltar lay hid. This fellow conducted them to a party of Spaniards, whom they instantly made prisoners, commanding his slave to kill some before the eyes of the rest; that by this perpetrated crime, he might never be able to leave their wicked company. The negro, according to their orders, committed many murders and insolencies upon the Spaniards, and followed the unfortunate traces of the pirates; who eight days after returned to Gibraltar with many prisoners, and some mules laden with riches. They examined every prisoner by himself (who were in all about 50 persons) where they had hid the rest of their goods, and if they knew of their fellow townsmen, such as would not confess, were tormented after a most inhuman manner. Among the rest, there happened to be a Portuguese, who by a negro was reported, though falsely, to be very rich; this man was commanded to produce his riches. His answer was, he had no more than 100 pieces of eight in the world, and these had been stolen from him two days before by his servant; which words, though healed with many oaths and protestations, yet they could not believe him, but dragging him to the rack,

rack, without any regard to his age of sixty years; they stretched him with cords, breaking both arms behind his shoulders.

This cruelty went not alone; for he not being able to say or willing to make any other declaration, they carried him to another sort of torment more barbarous. They tied him with small cords by his two thumbs and great toes to four stakes fixed in the ground at a convenient distance, the whole weight of his body hanging on those cords. Not satisfied yet with this cruel torture, they took a stone of above two hundred pounds, and laid it upon his belly, as they intended to press him to death; they also kindled palm leaves, and applied the flame to the face of this unfortunate Portuguese, burning with them the whole skin, beard, and hair. At last seeing that neither with these tortures, nor others they could not get any thing out of him, they untied the cords, and carried him half dead to the church where was their corps du gard; here they laid him anew to one of the pillars thereof, leaving him in that condition, without giving him either to eat or drink, unless very sparingly, and so little as would scarce sustain life for some days; four or five days past, he desired one of the prisoners might come to him, by whose means he promised he would endeavour to raise some money to satisfy their demands. The prisoner whom he required was brought to him, and he ordered him to promise the pirates 500 pieces of eight for his ransom; but they were deaf and obstinate at such a small sum, and instead of accepting it, beat him cruelly with cudgels, saying, 'Fellow, instead of five hundred, you must say a hundred thousand pieces of eight; otherwise I shall here end your life.' Finally, after a thousand protestations that he was but a miserable man, who kept a poor tavern for his living, he agreed with

them for 1000 pieces of eight. These he raised, and having paid them, got his liberty; though so horribly maimed, that it is scarce to be believed he could survive many weeks.

Other tortures, beside these, were exercised upon others, which this Portuguese endured not. Some were hanged up by the testicles, or privy-members, and left till they fell to the ground, those parts being torn from their bodics: if with this they minded no shew mercy to those wretches, thus lacerated in the most tender parts, their mercy was, to run them through with their swords; otherwise they used to lie four or five days under the agonies of death before they died. Others were crucified by these tyrants, and with kindled matches burnt between the joints of their fingers and toes: others had their feet put into the fire, and thus were left to be roasted alive. Having used these and other cruelties with the white men, they began to practise the same with the negroes, their slaves, who were treated with no less inhumanity than their masters.

Among these slaves was one who promised captain Morgan to conduct him to a river of the lake, where he should find a ship and four boats, richly laden with goods of the inhabitants of Maracalbo: the same discovered likewise where the governor of Gibraltar lay hid, with the greatest part of the women of the town; but all this he revealed, upon great promises to hang him, if he told not what he knew. Captain Morgan sent away presently 200 men in two pinnaces, or great boats, to this river, to seek for what the slave had discovered; but he himself, with 50 more, undertook to go and take the governor. This gentleman was retired to a small island in the middle of the river, where he had built a little fort, as well as he could, for his defence; but hearing that captain Morgan came in person with great forces

to seek him, he retired to the top of a mountain not far off, to which there was no ascent, but by a very narrow passage, so streight, that whosoever did attempt to gain the ascent, must march his men one by one. Captain Morgan spent two days before he arrived at this little island, whence he designed to proceed to the mountain where the governor was posted, had he not been told of the impossibility of ascent, not only for the narrowness of the way, but because the governor was well provided with all sorts of ammunition: beside, there was fallen a huge rain, whereby all the pirates baggage and powder was wet. By this rain, also, they lost many men at the passage over a river that was overflowed: here perished, likewise, some women and children, and many mules laden with plate and goods, which they had taken from the fugitive inhabitants; so that things were in a very bad condition with captain Morgan, and his men much harrassed, as may be inferred from this relation; whereby, if the Spaniards, in that juncture, had had but fifty men well armed, they might have entirely destroyed the pirates. But the fears the Spaniards had at first conceived were so great, that the leaves stirring on the trees they often fancied to be pirates. Finally, captain Morgan and his people, having upon this march sometimes waded up to their middles in water for half, or whole miles together, they at last escaped, for the greatest part; but the women and children for the major part died.

Thus twelve days after they set forth to seek the governor, they returned to Gibraltar with many prisoners: two days after arrived also the two settlers that went to the river, bringing with them four boats, and some prisoners; but the greatest part of the merchandize in the said boats they found not, the Spaniards having unladed and secured it, having

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intelligence of their coming; who designed also, when the merchandize was taken out, to burn the boats: yet the Spaniards made not so much haste to unlade these vessels, but that they left in the ship and boats great parcels of goods, which the pirates seized, and brought a considerable booty to Gibraltar. Thus, after they had been in possession of the place five entire weeks, and committed an infinite number of murders, robberies, rapes, and such like insolencies, they concluded to depart; but first they ordered some prisoners to go forth into the woods and fields, and collect a ransom for the town; otherwise they would certainly burn it down to the ground. These poor afflicted men went as they were sent, and having searched the adjoining fields and woods, returned to captain Morgan, telling him, they had scarce been able to find any body, but that to such as they had found, they had proposed his demands; to which they had answered, that the governor had prohibited them to give any ransom for the town, but they beseeched him to have a little patience, and among themselves they would collect 5000 pieces of eight; and for the rest, they would give some of their own townsmen as hostages, whom he might carry to Maracaibo, till he had received full satisfaction.

Captain Morgan having now been long absent from Maracaibo, and knowing the Spaniards had had sufficient time to fortify themselves, and hinder his departure out of the lake, granted their proposition, and made as much haste as he could for his departure: he gave liberty to all the prisoners, first putting every one to a ransom; yet he detained the slaves. They delivered him four persons agreed on for hostages of what money more he was to receive, and they desired to have the slave mentioned above, intending to punish him according to his deserts;

deserts ; but captain Morgan would not deliver him, lest they should burn him alive. At last, they weighed anchor, and set sail in all haste for Maracaibo : here they arrived in four days, and found all things as they had left them ; yet here they received news from a poor distressed old man, whom alone they found sick in the town, that three Spanish men of war were arrived at the entry of the lake, waiting the return of the pirates : moreover, that the castle at the entry thereof was again put into a good posture of defence, well provided with guns and men, and all sorts of ammunition.

This relation could not choose but disturb the mind of captain Morgan, who now was careful how to get away through the narrow entry of the lake : hereupon, he sent his swiftest boat to view the entry, and see if things were as they had been related. Next day the boat came back, confirming what was said ; assuring him, they had viewed the ships so nigh, that they had been in great danger of their shot : hereunto they added, that the biggest ship was mounted with 40 guns, the second with 30, and the smallest with 24. These forces being much beyond those of captain Morgan, caused a general consternation in the pirates, whose biggest vessel had not above 14 small guns : every one judged captain Morgan to despond, and to be hopeless, considering the difficulty of passing safe with his little fleet amidst those great ships and the fort, or he must perish. How to escape any other way, by sea or land, they saw no way. Under these necessities, captain Morgan resumed new courage, and resolving to shew himself still undaunted, he boldly sent a Spaniard to the admiral of those three ships, demanding of him a considerable ransom for not putting the city of Maracaibo to the flames. This man (who was received  
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by the Spaniards with great admiration of the boldness of those pirates, returned two days after, bringing to captain Morgan a letter from the said admiral, as follows :

*The letter of don Alonso del Campo y Espinosa, admiral of the Spanish fleet, to captain Morgan, commander of the pirates.*

**H**AVING understood by all our friends and neighbours, the unexpected news, that you have dared to attempt and commit hostilities in the countries, cities, towns, and villages belonging to the dominions of his catholick majesty, my sovereign lord and master ; I let you understand by these lines, that I am come to this place, according to my obligation, near that castle which you took out of the hands of a parcel of cowards : where I have put things in a very good posture of defence, and mounted again the artillery which you had nailed and dismounted. My intent is, to dispute with you your passage out of the lake, and follow and pursue you every where, to the end you may see the performance of my duty. Notwithstanding, if you be contented to surrender with humility all that you have taken, together with the slaves and all other prisoners, I will let you freely pass, without trouble or molestation ; on condition that you retire home presently to your own country. But if you make any resistance or opposition to what I offer you, I assure you, I will command boats to come from Caraccas, wherein I will put my troops, and, coming to Maracalbo, will put you and every one to the sword. This is my last and absolute resolution. Be prudent, therefore, and do not abuse my bounty with ingratitude. I have with me very

' good soldiers, who desire nothing more ardently  
 ' than to revenge on you, and your people, all the  
 ' cruelties and base infamous actions you have com-  
 ' mitted upon the Spanish nation in America.  
 ' Dated on board the royal ship named the Mag-  
 ' dalen, lying at anchor at the entry of the lake  
 ' of Maracaibo, this 24th of April, 1669.

' Don Alonso del Campo y Espinosa.

As soon as captain Morgan received this letter, he  
 called all his men together in the market-place of  
 Maracaibo, and after reading the contents thereof,  
 both in French and English, asked their advice and  
 resolution on the whole matter, and whether they  
 had rather surrender all they had got, to obtain  
 their liberty, than fight for it.

They answered all unanimously, they had rather  
 fight to the last drop of blood, than surrender so  
 easily the booty they had got with so much danger  
 of their lives. Among the rest, one said to captain  
 Morgan, 'Take you care for the rest, and I will un-  
 ' dertake to destroy the biggest of those ships with  
 ' only twelve men: the manner shall be, by making  
 ' a brulot, or fire-ship, of that vessel we took in  
 ' the river of Gibraltar, which, to the intent she  
 ' may not be known for a fire-ship, we will fill her  
 ' decks with logs of wood, standing with hats and  
 ' montera-caps, to deceive their sight with the re-  
 ' presentation of men. The same we will do at  
 ' the port-holes that serve for the guns, which shall  
 ' be filled with counterfeit cannon. At the stern  
 ' we will hang out English colours, and persuade  
 ' the enemy she is one of our best men of war  
 ' going to fight them.' This proposition was ad-  
 ' mitted and approved by every one; howbeit, their  
 ' fears were not quite dispersed.

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For, notwithstanding what had been concluded there, they endeavoured the next day to come to an accommodation with don Alonso. To this effect, captain Morgan sent to him two persons, with these propositions: first, 'That he would quit Maracaibo, without doing any damage to the town, or exacting any ransom for the firing thereof. Secondly, 'That he would set at liberty one half of the slaves, and all the prisoners, without ransom. Thirdly, 'That he would send home freely the four chief inhabitants of Gibraltar, which he had in his custody as hostages for the contributions those people had promised to pay.' These propositions were instantly rejected by don Alonso as dishonourable; neither would he hear of any other accommodation, but sent back this message: 'That if they surrendered not themselves voluntarily into his hands, within two days, under the conditions which he had offered them by his letter, he would immediately come and force them to do it.'

No sooner had captain Morgan received this message from don Alonso, than he put all things in order to fight, resolving to get out of the lake by main force, without surrendering any thing. First, he commanded all the slaves and prisoners to be tied, and guarded very well, and gathered all the pitch, tar, and brimstone they could find in the whole town, for the fire-ship above-mentioned; then they made several inventions of powder and brimstone with palm-leaves, well anointed with tar. They covered very well their counterfeit cannon, laying under every piece many pounds of powder; besides, they cut down many out-works of the ship, that the powder might exert its strength the better; breaking open, also, new port-holes, where, instead of guns, they placed little drums used by the Negroes. Finally, the decks were handsomely beset

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with



with many pieces of wood, dressed up like men with hats, or montera's, and armed with swords, muskets, and bandeleers.

The fire-ship being thus fitted, they prepared to go to the entry of the port. All the prisoners were put into one great boat, and in another of the biggest they placed all the women, plate, jewels, and other rich things: into others they put the bales of goods and merchandize, and other things of bulk: each of these boats had twelve men aboard, very well armed; the brulot had orders to go before the rest of the vessels, and presently to fall foul with the great ship. All things being ready, captain Morgan exacted an oath of all his comrades, protesting to defend themselves to the last drop of blood, without demanding quarter; promising withal, that whosoever behaved himself thus, should be very well rewarded.

With this courageous resolution, they set sail to seek the Spaniards. On April 30, 1669, they found the Spanish fleet riding at anchor in the middle of the entry of the lake. Captain Morgan, it being now late, and almost dark, commanded all his vessels to an anchor, designing to fight, even all night, if they forced him to it. He ordered a careful watch to be kept aboard every vessel till morning, they being almost within shot, as well as within sight of the enemy. The day dawning, they weighed anchor, and sailed again, steering directly towards the Spaniards; who seeing them move, did instantly the same. The fire-ship sailing before the rest, fell presently upon the great ship, and grappled her; which the Spaniards (too late) perceiving to be a fire-ship, they attempted to put her off, but in vain; for the flame seizing her timber and tackling, soon consumed all the stern, the forepart sinking into the sea, where she perished. The second Spanish ship  
perceiving

perceiving the admiral to burn, not by accident, but by industry of the enemy, escaped towards the castle, where the Spaniards themselves sunk her, choosing to lose their ship, rather than to fall into the hands of those pirates. The third having no opportunity to escape, was taken by the pirates. The seamen that sunk the second ship near the castle, perceiving the pirates come towards them to take what remains they could find of their shipwreck, (for some part was yet above water) set fire also to this vessel, that the pirates might enjoy nothing of that spoil. The first ship being set on fire, some of the persons in her swam towards the shore; these the pirates would have taken up in their boats, but they would not ask or take quarter, choosing rather to lose their lives than receive them from their hands, for reasons which I shall relate.

The pirates being extreamly glad at this signal victory so soon obtained, and with so great an inequality of forces, conceived greater pride than they had before, and all presently ran ashore, intending to take the castle. This they found well provided with men, canons, and ammunition, they having no other arms than muskets, and a few hand-granadoes: their own artillery they thought incapable, for its smallness, of making any considerable breach in the walls. Thus they spent the rest of the day, firing at the garrison with their muskets, till the dusk of the evening; when they attempted to advance nearer the walls, to throw in their fire-balls: but the Spaniards resolving to sell their lives as dear as they could, fired so furiously at them, that they having experienced the obstinacy of the enemy, and seeing thirty of their men dead, and as many more wounded, they retired to their ships.

The Spaniards believing the pirates would next day renew the attack with their own cannon, laboured

boured hard all night to put things in order for their coming; particularly, they dug down, and made plain, some little hills and eminences, whence possibly the castle might be offended.

But captain Morgan intended not to come again, busying himself next day in taking prisoners some of the men who still swam alive, hoping to get part of the riches lost in the two ships that perished. Among the rest, he took a pilot, who was a stranger, and who belonged to the lesser ship of the two, of whom he enquired several things; as, what number of people those three ships had in them? whether they expected any more ships to come? From what port they set forth last, when they came to seek them out? He answered, in Spanish, ‘Noble Sir, be pleased to pardon and spare me, that no evil be done to me, being a stranger to this nation I have served, and I shall sincerely inform you of all that passed till our arrival at this lake. We were sent, by orders from the supream council of state in Spain, being six men of war, well equipped, into these seas, with instructions to cruize upon the English pirates, and root them out from these parts, by destroying as many of them as we could.’

‘These orders were given, upon the news brought to the court of Spain of the loss and ruin of Puerto Bello, and other places: of all which damages and hostilities committed here by the English, dismal lamentations have often been made to the catholick king and council, to whom belongs the care and preservation of this new world. And though the Spanish court hath many times by their ambassadors complained hereof to the king of England; yet it has been the constant answer of his majesty of Great Britain, that he never gave any letters patents, nor commissions, for acting

any hostility against the subjects of the king of Spain. Hereupon the catholick king resolved to revenge his subjects, and punish these proceedings; commanded six men of war to be equipped, which he sent under the command of don Augustine de Bustos, admiral of the said fleet. He commanded the biggest ship, named N. S. de la Soleda, of 48 great guns, and 8 small ones. The vice admiral was don Alonso del Campo y Espinosa, who commanded the second ship called la Concepcion, of 44 great guns and 8 small ones; besides 4 vessels more, whereof the first was named the Magdalen, of 36 great guns, and 12 small ones, with 250 men. The second was called St. Lewis with 26 great guns 12 small ones, and 200 men. The third was called la Marquesa, of 16 great guns and 8 small ones, and 150 men. The fourth and last, N. S. del Carmen, with 8 great guns, 8 small ones, and 150 men.

Being arrived at Carthagena, the two greatest ships received orders to return to Spain, being judged too big for cruising on these coasts. With the four ships remaining, don Alonso del Campo y Espinosa departed towards Campechy to seek the English: we arrived at the port there, where, being surprised by a huge storm from the north, we lost one of our ships, being that which I named last. Hence we sailed for Hispaniola, in sight of which we came in a few days, and steered for Santo Domingo: here we heard that there had passed that way a fleet from Jamaica, and that some men thereof had landed at Alta Gracia; the inhabitants had taken one prisoner, who confessed their design was to go and pillage the city of Caraccas. On this news, don Alonso instantly weighed anchor, and crossing over to the continent, we came in sight of the Caraccas: here we found them not, but met with a boat, which certified us they were in the lake of Maracaibo, and that the fleet consisted of seven small ships, and one boat.



' Upon this we came here, and arriving at the entry  
 ' of the lake, we shot off a gun for a pilot from the  
 ' shore. Those on land perceiving we were Spaniards  
 ' came willingly to us with a pilot, and told us the  
 ' English had taken Maracabio, and that they were  
 ' now at the pillage of Gibraltar. Don Alonso, on  
 ' this news, made a handsome speech to his soldiers  
 ' and mariners, encouraging them to their duty, and  
 ' promising to divide among them all they should take  
 ' from the English : he ordered the guns we had taken  
 ' out of the ship that was lost, to be put into the  
 ' castle, and mounted for its defence, two eighteen  
 ' pounders more out of his own ship. The pilot  
 ' conducted us into the port, and don Alonso com-  
 ' manded the people on shore to come before him,  
 ' whom he ordered to repossess the castle, and re-  
 ' inforce it with 100 men more than it had before  
 ' its being taken. Soon after, we heard of your re-  
 ' turn from Gibraltar to Maracaibo, whither don  
 ' Alonso wrote you a letter, giving you an account  
 ' of his arrival and design, and exhorting you to re-  
 ' store what you had taken. This you refusing, he  
 ' renewed his promises to his soldiers and seamen ;  
 ' and having given a very good supper to all his  
 ' people, he ordered them not to take or give any  
 ' quarter ; which was the occasion of so many  
 ' being drowned, who dared not to crave quarter,  
 ' knowing themselves must give none. Two days  
 ' before you came against us, a negro came aboard  
 ' don Alonso's ship, telling him, Sir, be pleased to  
 ' have great care of yourself, for the English have  
 ' prepared a fire-ship, with design to burn your fleet.  
 ' But don Alonso not believing this, answered, how  
 ' can that be ? Have they, peradventure, wit enough  
 ' to build a fire-ship ? Or what instruments have  
 ' they to do it withal ?'

This pilot having related so distinctly these things  
 to captain Morgan was very well used by him, and,

after



After some kind proffers made to him, remained in his service. He told captain Morgan, that in the ship which was sunk there was a great quantity of plate, to the value of 40,000 pieces of eight; which occasioned the Spaniards to be often seen in boats about it. Hereupon captain Morgan ordered one of his ships to remain there, to find ways of getting out of it what plate they could; mean while himself, with all his fleet, returned to Maracaibo, where he refitted the great ship he had taken, and chose it for himself, giving his own bottom to one of his captains.

Then he sent again a messenger to the admiral, who was escaped ashore, and got into the castle, demanding of him a ransom of fire for Maracaibo; which being denied, he threatened entirely to consume and destroy it. The Spaniards considering the ill luck they had all along with those pirates, and not knowing how to get rid of them, concluded to pay the said ransom, though don Alonso would not consent.

Hereupon they sent to captain Morgan, to know what sum he demanded. He answered, that on payment of 30,000 pieces of eight, and 500 beeves, he would release the prisoners, and do no damage to the town. At last they agreed on 20,000 pieces of eight, and 5000 beeves to victual his fleet. The cattle were brought the next day, with one part of the money; and while the pirates were busied in salting the flesh, they made up the whole 20,000 pieces of eight, as was agreed.

But captain Morgan would not presently deliver the prisoners, as he had promised, fearing the shot of the castle at his going forth out of the lake. Hereupon he told them he intended not to deliver them till he was out of that danger, hoping thus to obtain a free passage. Then he set sail with his fleet in quest of the ship he had left to seek for the plate of the vessel that was burnt. He found her on the place,

place, with 15,000 pieces of eight got out of the works, beside many pieces of plate, as hilts of swords and the like; also a great quantity of pieces of eight melted and run together by the force of the fire.

Captain Morgan scarce thought himself secure, nor could he contrive how to avoid the shot of the castle; hereupon he wished the prisoners to agree with the governor to permit a safe passage to his fleet, which if he should not allow, he would certainly hang them all up in his ships. Upon this the prisoners met, and appointed some of their fellow messengers to go to the said governor don Alonso: these went to him, beseeching and supplicating him to have compassion on those afflicted prisoners, who were, with their wives and children, in the hands of captain Morgan, and that to this effect he would be pleased to give his word to let the fleet of pirates freely pass, this being the only way to save both the lives of them that came with this petition, as also of those who remained in captivity; all being equally menaced with the sword and gallows, if he granted them not this humble request. But don Alonso gave them for answer a sharp reprehension of their cowardice, telling them, 'If you had been as loyal to your king in hindering the entry of these pirates, as I shall do their going out, you had never caused these troubles neither to yourselves, nor to our whole nation, which hath suffered so much through your pusillanimity. In answer, I shall never grant your request, but shall endeavour to maintain that respect which is due to my king, according to my duty.'

Thus the Spaniards returned with much consternation, and hopes of obtaining their request, telling captain Morgan what answer they had received: his reply was, if don Alonso will not let me pass, I will find means how to do it without him. Hereupon he presently made a dividend of all they had taken, fearing

earing he might not have an opportunity to do it in another place, if any tempest should rise and separate the ships, as also-being jealous that any of the commanders might run away with the best part of the spoil, which then lay much more in one vessel than another. Thus they all brought in according to their laws, and declared what they had, first making oath not to conceal the least thing. The account being laid up, they found to the value of 25,000 pieces of eight in money and jewels, besides the huge quantity of merchandise and slaves; all which purchase was divided to every ship or boat, according to their share.

The dividend being made, the question still remained how they should pass the castle, and get out of the lake: to this effect they made use of a stratagem, as follows; the day before the night wherein they determined to get forth, they embarked many of their men in canoes, and rowed towards the shore, as if they designed to land; here they hid themselves under branches of trees that hang over the coast awhile, laying themselves down in the boats; then the canoes returned to the ships, with the appearance of only two or three men rowing them back, the rest being unseen at the bottom of the canoes; thus much only could be perceived from the castle; and this false landing of men, for so we may call it, was repeated that day several times: this made the Spaniards think the pirates intended at night to force the castle by scaling it. This fear caused them to place most of their great guns on the land side, together with their main force, leaving the side towards the sea almost destitute of defence.

Night being come, they weighed anchor, and by moon-light, without setting sail, committed themselves to the ebbing tide, which gently brought them down the river, till they were near the castle; being almost

most over against it, they spread their sails with all possible haste. The Spaniards perceiving this, transported with all speed their guns from the other side, and began to fire very furiously at them; but these having a very favourable wind, were almost past danger before those of the castle could hurt them; so that they lost few of their men, and received no considerable damage in their ships. Being out of the reach of the guns, captain Morgan sent a canoe to the castle with some of the prisoners, and the governor thereof gave them a boat to return to their own homes; but he detained the hostages from Gibraltar, because the rest of the ransom for not firing the place was yet unpaid. Just as he departed, captain Morgan ordered seven great guns with bullets to be fired against the castle, as it were to take his leave of them, but they answered not so much as with a musket shot.

Next day after they were surprized with a great tempest, which forced them to cast anchor in five or six fathom water; but the storm increasing, compelled them to weigh again, and put to sea, where they were in great danger of being lost; for if they should have been cast on shore, either into the hands of the Spaniards or Indians, they would certainly have obtained no mercy; at last the tempest being spent the wind ceased, to the great joy of the whole fleet.

While captain Morgan made his fortune by these pillagings, his companions, who were separated from his fleet at the cape de Lobos, to take the ship spoken of before, endured much misery, and were unfortunate in all their attempts. Being arrived at Savona, they found not captain Morgan there, nor any of their companions, nor had they the fortune to find a letter which captain Morgan at his departure left behind him in a place where in all probability they would

ould meet with it. Thus, not knowing what course to steer, they concluded to pillage some town or other. They were in all about 400 men divided into four ships and one boat: being ready to set forth, they constituted an admiral among themselves, being he who had behaved himself very courageously at the taking of Puerto Bello, named captain Hansel: his commander attempted the taking of the town of Commana, on the continent of Caraccas, nigh 60 leagues to the west of the isle de la Trinidad. Being arrived there, they landed their men, and killed some few Indians near the coast; but approaching the town, the Spaniards having in their company many Indians, disputed the entry so briskly, that with great loss and confusion they were forced to retire to the ships. At last they arrived at Jamaica, where the rest of their companions who came with captain Morgan, mocked and jeered them for their ill success at Commana, often telling them, 'let us see what money you brought from Commana, and if it be as good silver as that which we bring from Maracaibo.

C H A P. XV.

*Captain Morgan goes to Hispaniola to equip a new fleet, with intent to pillage again on the coast of the West-Indies.*

Captain Morgan perceived now that fortune favoured him by giving success to all his enterprizes, which occasioned him, as is usual in human affairs, to aspire to greater things, trusting she would always be constant to him. Such was the burning of Panama, wherein fortune failed not to assist him, as she had done before, though she had led him thereto through thousand difficulties. The history hereof I shall now relate, being so remarkable in all its circumstances,



as peradventure nothing more deserving memory to be read by future ages.

Captain Morgan arriving at Jamacia, found most of his officers and soldiers reduced to their former indigency by their vices and debaucheries: he therefore they perpetually importuned him for new exploits thereby to get something to expend still in wine and strumpets, as they had already done what they could before. Captain Morgan, willing to follow fortune's call, stopped the mouth of many inhabitants of Jamacia, who were creditors to his men for large sums with the hopes and promises of greater achievements than ever, by a new expedition: this done, he could easily levy men for any enterprize, his name being famous through all those islands, as that alone would readily bring him in more men than he could employ. He undertook therefore to equip a new fleet for which he assigned the south side of Tortuga as the place of rendezvous, writing letters to all the exiles and pirates there inhabiting, as also to the governor, and to the planters and hunters of Hispaniola, informing them of his intentions, and desiring their assistance, if they intended to go with him. These people upon this notice flocked to the place assigned, in huge numbers, with ships, canoes, and boats, being desirous to follow him. Many who had not the convenience of coming by sea, traversed the woods of Hispaniola, and with no small difficulties arrived there by land. Thus all were present at the place assigned, and ready against October the twenty fourth, 1692.

Captain Morgan was not wanting to be there personally, coming in his ship to Port Couillon, on the north against the island de la Vaca, the place assigned. Having gathered the greatest part of his fleet, he called a council to deliberate about finding provisions for so many people. Here they concluded to send for more ships and one boat, with 400 men, to the continent

order to rifle some country towns and villages for the corn or maiz they could gather. They set for the continent towards the river de la Hacha, signing to assault the village called la Rancheria, usually best stored with maiz of all the parts thereabouts. Mean while captain Morgan sent another party to hunt in the woods, who killed a great number of beasts, and salted them; the rest remained in the ships, to clean, fit, and rig them, that at the turn of their fellows all things might be in a readiness to weigh anchor and follow their designs.

## C H A P. XVI.

*What happened in the river de la Hacha.*

THESE four ships setting sail from Hispaniola, steered for the river de la Hacha, where they were suddenly overtaken with a tedious calm. Being within sight of land becalmed for some days, the Spaniards inhabiting along the coasts, who had perceived them to be enemies, had sufficient time to prepare themselves, at least to hide the best of their goods, that without any care of preserving them, they might be ready to retire, if they proved unable to resist the pirates, by whose frequent attempts on these coasts they had already learned what to do in such cases. There was then in the river a good ship, come from Carthagena to lade with maiz, and now almost ready to depart: the men of this ship endeavoured to escape, but not being able to do it, both they and the vessel fell into their hands. This was a purchase for them, being good part of what they came for. Next morning, about break of day, they came with their ships ashore, and landed their men, though the Spaniards made good resistance from a battery they had raised on that side, where, of necessity,

cessity, they were to land; but they were forced to retire to a village, whither the pirates followed them. Here the Spaniards rallying, fell upon them with fury, and maintained a strong combat, which lasted till night; but then perceiving they had lost a great number of men, which was no less on the pirate side, they retired to secret places in the woods.

Next day the pirates seeing them all fled, and the town left empty of people, they pursued them as far as they could, and overtook a party of Spaniards, whom they made prisoners, and exercised with most cruel torments, to discover their goods. Some were forced by intolerable tortures to confess; but others, who would not were used more barbarously. Thus in five days that they remained there, they took many prisoners, much plate and moveables, with which they resolved to return to Hispaniola; yet not content with what they had got, they dispatched some prisoners into the woods to seek for the rest of the inhabitants, and to demand a ransom for not burning the town. They answered, they had no money nor plate; but if they would be satisfied with a quantity of malz, they would give as much as they could. The pirates accepted this, it being then more useful to them than ready money, and agreed they should pay 4000 hanegs, or bushels of malz. These were brought in three days after, the Spaniards being desirous to rid themselves of that inhuman sort of people. Having laded them on board with the rest of their purchase, they returned to Hispaniola, to give account to their leader, captain Morgan, of all they had performed.

They had now been absent five weeks on this commission, which long delay occasioned captain Morgan almost to despair of their return, fearing lest they were fallen into the hands of the Spaniards; especially considering the place whereto they went com-

be relieved from Carthagena and Santa Maria, the inhabitants were careful to alarm the country. On the other side, he feared lest they should have made great fortune in that voyage, and with it have fled to some other place: but seeing his ships return in greater numbers than they departed, he resumed courage, this sight causing both in him and his companions infinite joy, especially when they found them full laden with maiz, which they much wanted for the maintenance of so many people, from whom they expected great matters under such a commander.

Captain Morgan having divided the said maiz, as to the flesh which the hunters brought, among his men, according to the number of men, he concluded to depart; having viewed before-hand every ship, and observed their being well equipped, and clean. Thus he set sail, and stood for Cape Tiburon, where he intended to resolve what enterprize he should take. No sooner were they arrived, but they met other ships newly come to join them from Jamaica: so that now their fleet consisted of 37 ships, wherein were 2000 fighting men, beside mariners and

The admiral hereof was mounted with 22 guns, and 6 small ones of brass; the rest carried some 20, some 16, some 18, and the smallest at least 4; besides which, they had great quantities of ammunition and fire-balls, with other inventories of powder.

Captain Morgan having such a number of ships, divided the whole fleet into two squadrons, constituting a vice-admiral, and other officers of the second squadron, distinct from the former: to these he gave patents, or commissions to act all manner of hostilities against the Spanish nation, and take of them the ships they could, either abroad at sea, or in the harbours, as if they were open and declared enemies (as he termed it) of the king of England, his pretended

tended master. This done, he called all his captains and other officers together, and caused them to sign some articles of agreement betwixt them, and in the name of all. Herein it was stipulated, that he should have the hundredth part of all that was gotten to himself: that every Captain should draw the shares of men for the expences of his ship, besides his own. To the surgeon, beside his pay, 200 pieces of eight for his chest of medicaments: to every carpenter above his salary, 100 pieces of eight. The rewards were settled in this voyage much higher than before: as for the loss of both legs 1500 hundred pieces of eight, or 15 slaves, the choice left to the party: for the loss of both hands, 1800 pieces of eight, or 18 slaves: for one leg, whether right or left, 600 pieces of eight, or 6 slaves: for a hand, as much as for a leg; and for the loss of an eye, 100 pieces of eight, or one slave. Lastly, To him that in any battle should signalize himself, either by entering first any castle, or taking down the Spanish colours, and setting up the English, they allotted 50 pieces of eight for a reward: all which extraordinary salaries and rewards, to be paid out of the first spoil they should take, as every one should occur, to be either rewarded or paid.

This contract being signed, captain Morgan commanded his vice-admirals and captains to put all things in order, to attempt one of these three places; either Carthagena, Panama, or Vera Cruz: but the lot fell on Panama, as the richest of all three, though this city being situated at such a distance from the North sea, as they knew not well the approaches to it, they judged it necessary to go beforehand to the isle of St. Catherine, there to find some persons for guides in this enterprize: for in the garrison there are commonly many banditti and outlaws belonging to Panama, and the neighbouring places, who



are very expert in the knowledge of that country. But before they proceeded, they published an order through the whole fleet, promising if they met any Spanish vessel, the first captain who should seize it, should have for his reward the tenth part of what should be found in her.

C H A P. XVII.

*Captain Morgan leaves Hispaniola, and goes to St. Catherine's, which he takes.*

Captain Morgan and his companions weighed anchor from the cape of Tiburon, December 16, 1700. Four days after they arrived in sight of St. Catherine's, now in possession of the Spaniards again, as was said before, to which they commonly banish the malefactors of the Spanish dominions in the West-Indies. Here are huge quantities of pigeons at certain seasons. It is watered by four rivulets, whereof two are always dry in summer: here is no trade or commerce exercised by the inhabitants, neither do they plant more fruits than what are necessary for human life, though the country would make very good plantations of tobacco of considerable profit, were it cultivated.

As soon as captain Morgan came near the island with his fleet, he sent one of his best sailing vessels to view the entry of the river, and see if any other ships were there, who might hinder him from landing; as he feared lest they should give intelligence of his arrival to the inhabitants, and prevent his designs.

Next day, before sun-rise, all the fleet anchored near the island, in a bay called Aguade Grande. On this bay the Spaniards had built a battery mounted with four pieces of cannon. Captain Morgan landed about a 1000 men in divers squadrons, marching through

through the woods, though they had no other guide than a few of his own men, who had been there before under Mansvelt : the same day they came to a place where the governor sometimes resided ; here they found a battery called a Platform, but no body in the Spaniards having retired to the lesser island, which as was said before, is so near the great one, that a short bridge only may conjoin them.

This lesser island was so well fortified with forts and batteries round it, as might seem impregnable hereupon, as soon as the Spaniards perceived the pirates approach, they fired on them so furiously that they could advance nothing that day, but were content to retreat, and take up their rest in the open fields, which was not strange to these people, being sufficiently used to such kind of repose : what most afflicted them was hunger, having not eat any thing that whole day. About midnight it rained so hard that they had much ado to bear it, the greatest part of them having no other cloaths than a pair of sea-man's trowsers, or breeches, and a shirt, without shoes or stockings. In this great extremity they pulled down a few thatched houses to make fires withal ; in a word, they were in such a condition, that 100 men indifferently well armed, might easily that night have torn them all in pieces. Next morning about break of day the rain ceased, and they dried their arms and marched on ; but soon after it rained afresh, rather harder than before, as if the skies were melted into waters ; which kept them from advancing towards the forts, whence the Spaniards continually fired at them.

The pirates were now reduced to great affliction and danger through the hardness of the weather, their nakedness, and great hunger ; for a small relief hereof, they found in the fields an old horse, lean, and full of scabs and blotches, with galled back and sides : this they

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they instantly killed and flayed, and divided in small pieces among themselves, as far as it would reach (for many could not get a morsel) which they roasted and devoured without salt or bread, more like ravenous wolves than men. The rain not ceasing, captain Morgan perceived their minds to relent, hearing many of them say they would return on board. Among these fatigues of mind and body, he thought convenient to use some sudden remedy: to this effect, he commanded a canoe to be rigged in haste, and colours of truce to be hanged out. This canoe he sent to the Spanish governor, with this message: "That if within a few hours he delivered not himself and all his men into his hands, he did by that messenger swear to him, and all those that were in his company, he would most certainly put them to the sword, without granting quarter to any."

In the afternoon the canoe returned with this answer: "That the governor desired two hours time to deliberate with his officers about it, which being past he would give his positive answer." The time being elapsed, the governor sent two canoes with white colours, and two persons, to treat with captain Morgan; but before they landed, they demanded of the pirates two persons as hostages. These were readily granted by captain Morgan, who delivered them two of his captains for a pledge of the security required: with this the Spaniards propounded to captain Morgan, that the governor in a full assembly had resolved to deliver up the island, not being provided with sufficient forces to defend it against such an armada: but, withal, he desired captain Morgan would be pleased to use a certain stratagem of war, for the better saving of his own credit, and the reputation of his officers both abroad and at home, which should be as follows: that captain Morgan

would come with his troops by night to the bridge that joined the lesser island to the great one, and there attack the fort of St. Jerom: that at the same time all his fleet would draw near the castle of Santa Terefa, and attack it by land, landing, in the mean while, more troops near the battery of St. Matthew: that these troops being newly landed, should by this means intercept the governor as he endeavoured to pass to St. Jerom's fort, and then take him prisoner; using the formality, as if they forced him to deliver the castle; and that he would lead the English into it, under colour of being his own troops. That on both sides there should be continual firing, but without bullets, or at least into the air; so that no side might be hurt. That thus having obtained two such considerable forts, the chiefest of the isle, he need not take care for the rest, which must fall of course into his hands.

These propositions were granted by captain Morgan, on condition they should see them faithfully observed; otherwise they should be used with the utmost rigour: this they promised to do, and took their leave, to give account of their negociation to the governor. Presently after captain Morgan commanded the whole fleet to enter the port, and his men to be ready to assault, that night, the castle of St. Jerom. Thus the false battle began, with incessant firing from both the castles against the ships, but without bullets, as was agreed: then the pirates landed, and assaulted by night the lesser island, which they took, as also both the fortresses; forcing the Spaniards, in appearance, to fly to the church. Before this assault, captain Morgan sent word to the governor, that he should keep all his men together in a body; otherwise, if the pirates met any straggling Spaniards in the streets, they should certainly shoot them.

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This island being taken by this unusual stratagem, and all things put in order; the pirates made a new war against the poultry, cattle, and all sorts of vic-tuals they could find, for some days; scarce think-ing of any thing else than to kill, roast, and eat, and make what good cheer they could. If wood was wanting, they pulled down the houses, and made fires with the timber, as had been done before in the field. Next day they numbered all the prisor-ers they had taken upon the island, which were found to be in all 459 persons, men, women, and children, viz. 190 soldiers of the garrison; 40 in-habitants, who were married; 43 children; 34 slaves, belonging to the king; with 8 children, 8 banditti, 39 negroes belonging to private persons; with 27 female blacks, and 34 children. The pi-rates disarmed all the Spaniards, and sent them out immediately to the plantations to seek for provi-sions, leaving the women in the church to exercise their devotions.

Soon after they reviewed the whole island, and all the fortresses thereof, which they found to be nine in all; viz. the fort of St. Jerom, next the bridge, had 8 great guns, of 12, 6, and 8 pounds carriage, with 6 pipes of muskets, every pipe containing 10 muskets. Here they found still 60 muskets, with sufficient powder, and other ammunition. The second fortress, called St. Matthew, had 3 guns, of 8 pounds each: the third, and chiefest, named San-ta Teresa, had 20 great guns, of 18, 12, 8, and 6 pounds, with 10 pipes of muskets, like those be-fore, and 90 muskets remaining, besides other am-munition. This castle was built with stone and mor-tar, with very thick walls, and a large ditch round it, 20 feet deep, which though it was dry, yet was very hard to get over. Here was no entry, but through one door, to the middle of the castle.



Within it was a mount almost inaccessible, with 4 pieces of cannon at the top; whence they could shoot directly into the port: on the sea-side it was impregnable, by reason of the rocks round it, and the sea beating furiously upon them: to the land it was so commodiously seated on a mountain, as there was no access to it but by a path three or four feet broad. The fourth fortress was named St. Augustine, having 3 guns of 8 and 6 pounds. The fifth, named La Plattaforma de la Concepcion, had only 2 guns of 8 pounds. The sixth, by name San Salvador, had likewise no more than 2 guns. The seventh, called Plattaforma de los Artillery, had also 2 guns. The eighth, called Santa Cruz, had 3 guns. The ninth, called St. Joseph's fort, had 6 guns of 12 and 8 pounds, besides two pipes of muskets and sufficient ammunition.

In the storehouses were above 30,000 pounds of powder, with all other ammunition, which was carried by the pirates on board: all the guns were stopped and nailed, and the fortresses demolished; except that of St. Jerom, where the pirates kept guard and resistance. Captain Morgan enquired for any banditti from Panama or Puerto Bello, and three were brought him, who pretended to be very expert in the avenues of those parts. He asked them to be his guides, and shew him the securest ways to Panama, which if they performed he promised them equal shares in the plunder of that expedition, and their liberty when they arrived at Jamaica. These propositions the banditti readily accepted, promising to serve him very faithfully, especially one of the three, who was the greatest rogue, thief, and assassin among them, and who had deserved rather to be broken alive on the wheel, than punished with serving in a garrison: this wicked fellow had a great ascendant over the other two, and

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domineered over them as he pleased, they not daring to disobey his orders.

Captain Morgan commanded four ships and one boat to be equipped and provided with necessaries, to go and take the castle of Chagre, on the river of that name; neither would he go himself with his whole fleet, lest the Spaniards should be jealous of his farther design on Panama. In these vessels he embarked 400 men to put in execution these his orders; mean while himself remained in St. Catherine's with the rest of the fleet, expecting to hear of their success.

C H A P. XVIII.

*Captain Morgan takes the castle of Chagre, with 400 men sent to this purpose from St. Catherine's.*

CAPTAIN Morgan sending this little fleet to Chagre, chose for vice-admiral thereof one captain Brodely, who had been long in those quarters, and committed many robberies on the Spaniards, when Mansvelt took the isle of St. Catherine, as was before related; and therefore was thought a fit person for this exploit, his actions likewise having render'd him famous among the pirates, and their enemies the Spaniards. Captain Brodely being made commander, in three days after his departure arrived in sight of the said castle of Chagre, by the Spaniards called St. Lawrence. This castle is built on a high mountain, at the entry of the river, surrounded with strong palisadoes, or wooden walls, filled with earth, which secures them as well as the best wall of stone or brick. The top of this mountain is, in a manner, divided into two parts, between which is a ditch thirty feet deep. The castle hath but one entry, and that by a draw-bridge

bridge over this ditch : to the land it has four bastions, and to the sea two more. The south part is totally inaccessible, through the cragginess of the mountain ; the north is surrounded by the river, which here is very broad : at the foot of the castle, or rather mountain, is a strong fort, with eight great guns, commanding the entry of the river. Not much lower are two other batteries, each of six pieces, to defend likewise the mouth of the river. At one side of the castle are two great storehouses of all sorts of warlike ammunition and merchandize, brought thither from the inland country ; near these houses is a high pair of stairs hewn out of the rock, to mount to the top of the castle. On the west is a small port, not above seven or eight fathoms deep, fit for small vessels, and a very good anchorage ; besides, before the castle, at the entry of the river, is a great rock, scarce to be descried, but at low tides.

No sooner had the Spaniards perceived the pirates, but they fired incessantly at them with the biggest of their guns. They came to an anchor in a small port, about a league from the castle. Next morning, very early, they went ashore, and marched through the woods to attack the castle on that side : this march lasted till two of the clock in the afternoon before they could reach the castle, by reason of the difficulties of the way, and its mire and dirt ; and though their guides served them very exactly, yet they came so nigh the castle at first, that they lost many of their men by its shot, they being in an open place without covert. This much perplexed the pirates, not knowing what course to take ; for on that side, of necessity, they must make the assault ; and being uncovered from head to foot, they could not advance one step without danger : besides that, the castle, both for its situation and strength, made them much doubt of success. But to give it over they

they dared not, lest they should be reproached by their companions.

At last, after many doubts and disputes, resolving to hazard the assault and their lives desperately, they advanced towards the castle with their swords in one hand and fire-balls in the other. The Spaniards defended themselves very briskly, ceasing not to fire at them continually; crying withal, "Come on, ye English dogs, enemies to God and our king; and let your other companions that are behind come on too, ye shall not go to Pauama this bout." The pirates making some trial to climb the walls, were forced to retreat, resting themselves till night, this being come, they returned to the assault, to try by the help of their fire-balls to destroy the pales before the wall; and while they were about it, there happened a very remarkable accident, which occasioned their victory. One of the pirates being wounded with an arrow in his back, which pierced his body through, he pulled it out boldly at the side of his breast, and winding a little cotton about it, he put it into his musket, and shot it back to the castle; but the cotton being kindled by the powder, fired two or three houses in the castle, being thatched with palm-leaves, which the Spaniards perceived not so soon as was necessary; for this fire meeting with a parcel of powder blew it up, thereby causing great ruin, and no less consternation to the Spaniards, who were not able to put a stop to it, not having seen it time enough.

The pirates perceiving the effect of the arrow, and the misfortunes of the Spaniards, were infinitely glad; and while they were busied in quenching the fire, which caused a great confusion for want of water, the pirates took this opportunity, setting fire likewise to the palisadeos. The fire thus seen at once in several parts about the castle, gave them



great advantage against the Spaniards, many breaches being made by the fire among the pales, and great heaps of earth falling into the ditch. Then the pirates climbing up, got over into the castle, tho' those Spaniards, who were not busy about the fire, cast down many flaming pots full of combustible matter and odious smells, which destroyed many of the English.

The Spaniards, with all their resistance, could not hinder the palisadoes from being burnt down before midnight. Mean while the pirates continued in their intention of taking the castle; and though the fire was very great, they would creep on the ground, as near as they could, and shoot amidst the flames against the Spaniards on the other side, and thus killed many from the walls. When day was come, they observed all the moveable earth that lay betwixt the pales to be fallen into the ditch; so that now those within the castle lay equally exposed to them without, as had been on the contrary before; whereupon the pirates continued shooting very furiously, and killed many Spaniards; for the governor had charged them to make good those posts, answering to the heaps of earth fallen into the ditch, and caused the artillery to be transported to the breaches.

The fire within the castle still continuing, the pirates from abroad did what they could to hinder its progress, by shooting incessantly against it; one party of them was employed only for this, while another watched all the motions of the Spaniards. About noon the English gained a breach, which the governor himself defended with 25 soldiers. Here was made a very courageous resistance by the Spaniards with muskets, pikes, stones, and swords; but thro' all these the pirates fought their way till they gained the castle. The Spaniards, who remained alive, cast themselves down from the castle into the sea, choos-

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ing rather to die thus (few or none surviving the fall) than to ask quarter for their lives. The governor himself retreated to the corps du gard, before which were placed two pieces of cannon; here he still defended himself, not demanding any quarter, till he was killed with a musket-shot in the head.

The governor being dead, and the corps du gard surrendering, they found remaining in it alive 30 men, whereof scarce ten were not wounded; these informed the pirates that eight or nine of their soldiers had deserted, and were gone to Panama to carry news of their arrival and invasion. These 30 men alone remained of 314 wherewith the castle was garrisoned, among whom not one officer was found alive. These were all made prisoners, and compelled to tell whatever they knew of their designs and enterprizes. Among other things, that the governor of Panama had notice sent him three weeks ago from Carthagena, when the English were equipping a fleet at Hispaniola, with a design to take Panama; and beside, that this had been discovered by a deserter from the pirates at the river de la Hacha, where they had victualled: that upon this, the governor had sent 164 men to strengthen the garrison of that castle, with much provision and ammunition; the ordinary garrison whereof was only 150 men, but these made up 214 men, very well armed. Besides this they declared, that the governor of Panama had placed several ambuscades along the river of Chagre; and that he waited for them in the open fields of Panama with 3600 men.

The taking of this castle cost the pirates excessively dear, in comparison to what they were wont to lose; their toil and labour was greater than at the conquest of the isle of St. Catherine; for numbering their men, they had lost above 100, beside 70 wounded. They commanded the Spanish pri-

soners to cast the dead bodies of their own men from the top of the mountain to the sea-side, and to bury them. The wounded were carried to the church, of which they made an hospital, and where also they shut up the women. Thus it was likewise turned into a place of prostitution, the pirates ceasing not to defile the bodies of those afflicted widows, with all manner of insolent actions and threats.

Captain Morgan remained not long behind at St. Catherine's, after taking the castle of Chagre, of which he had notice presently; but before he departed, he embarked all the provisions could be found, with much maiz, or Indian wheat, and cazave, whereof also is made bread in those parts. He transported great store of provisions to the garrison of Chagre, whencesoever they could be got. At a certain place they cast into the sea all the guns belonging thereto, designing to return, and leave that island well garrisoned, to the perpetual possession of the pirates; but he ordered all the houses and forts to be fired, except the castle of St. Teresa, which he judged to be the strongest and securest wherein to fortify himself at his return from Panama. He carried with him all the prisoners of the island, and then sailed for Chagre, where he arrived in eight days. Here the joy of the whole fleet was so great, when they spied the English colours on the castle, that they minded not their way into the river, so that they lost four ships at the entry thereof, captain Morgan's being one; yet they saved all the men and goods. The ships too had been preserved, if a strong northerly wind had not risen, which cast them on the rock at the entry of the river.

Captain Morgan was brought into the castle with great acclamations of all the pirates, both of those within and those newly come. Having heard the manner of the conquest he commanded all the prisoners

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soners to work and repair what was necessary, especially to set up new pallisadoes round the forts of the castle. There were still in the river some Spanish vessels, called Chatten, serving for transportation of merchandise up and down the river, and to go to Puerto Bello and Nicaragua: these commonly carry two great guns of iron, and four small ones of brass. These vessels they seized, with four little ships they found there, and all the canoes. In the castle they left a garrison of 500 men, and in the ships in the river 150 more. This done, captain Morgan departed for Panama at the head of 1200 men. He carried little provisions with him, hoping to provide himself sufficiently among the Spaniards, whom he knew to lie in ambuscade by the way.

C H A P. XIX.

*Captain Morgan departs from Chagre, at the head of 1200 men, to take the City of panama.*

CAPTAIN Morgan set forth from the castle of Chagre, towards Panama, August 18th, 1670. He had with him 1200 men, 5 boats laden with artillery, and 32 canoes. The first day they sailed only six leagues, and came to a place called De los Bracos: here a party of his men went ashore only to sleep and stretch their limbs, being almost crippled with lying too much crowded in the boats. Having rested a while, they went abroad to seek victuals in the neighbouring plantations; but they could find none, the Spaniards being fled, and carrying with them all they had. This day, being the first of their journey, they had such scarcity of victuals, as the greatest part were forced to pass with only a pipe of tobacco, without any other refreshment.

Next day, about evening, they came to a place called Cruz de Juan Gallego; here they were compelled to leave their boats and canoes, the river being very dry for want of rain, and many trees having fallen into it.

The guides told them, that about 2 leagues farther the country would be very good to continue the journey by land; hereupon they left 160 men on board the boats to defend them, that they might serve for a refuge in necessity.

Next morning, being the third day, they all went ashore, except those who were to keep the boats: to these captain Morgan gave order under great penalties, that no man, on any pretext whatever, should dare to leave the boats, and go ashore; fearing lest they should be surprized by an ambuscade of Spaniards in the neighbouring woods, which appeared so thick, as to seem almost impenetrable. This morning beginning their march, the ways proved so bad, that captain Morgan thought it more convenient to transport some of the men in canoes (though with great labour) to a place farther up the river, called Cedro Bueno: thus they re-imbarked, and the canoes returned for the rest; so that about night they got all together at the said place. The pirates much desired to meet some Spaniards or Indians, hoping to fill their bellies with their provisions, being reduced to extremity and hunger.

The fourth day the greatest part of the pirates marched by land, being led by one of the guides; the rest went by water farther up, being conducted by another guide, who always went before them, to discover, on both sides the river, the ambuscades. These had also spies, who were very dextrous to give notice of all accidents, or of the arrival of the pirates, six hours, at least, before they came. This day, about noon, they came near a post called Tor-



na Cavallos; here the guide of the canoes cried out, that he perceived an ambuscade. His voice caused infinite joy to all the pirates, hoping to find some provisions to satiate their extreme hunger. Being come to the place, they found no body in it, the Spaniards being fled, and leaving nothing behind but a few leathern bags, all empty, and a few crumbs of bread scattered on the ground where they had eaten. Being angry at this, they pulled down a few little huts which the Spaniards had made, and fell to eating the leathern bags, to allay the ferment of their stomachs, which was now so sharp, as to gnaw their very bowels. Thus they made a huge banquet upon these bags of leather, divers quarrels arising concerning the greatest shares. By the bigness of the place, they conjectured about 500 Spaniards had been there, whom, finding no victuals, they were now infinitely desirous to meet, intending to devour some of them rather than perish.

Having feasted themselves with those pieces of leather, they marched on, till they came about night to another post, call'd Torna Munni: here they found another ambuscade, but as barren as the former. They searched the neighbouring woods, but could not find any thing to eat, the Spaniards having been so provident, as not to leave, any where, the least crumb of sustenance; whereby the pirates were now brought to this extremity. Here again he was happy that had reserved since noon any bit of leather, to make his supper of, drinking after it a good draught of water for his comfort. Some, who never were out of their mother's kitchens, may ask, how these pirates could eat and digest those pieces of leather, so hard and dry? Whom I answer, that could they once experience what hunger, or rather famine is, they would find the way as the pirates did. For these first sliced it in pieces, then they



they beat it between two stones, and rubbed it, often dipping it in water to make it supple and tender: lastly, they scraped off the hair, and broiled it. Being thus cooked, they cut it into small morsels, and eat it, helping it down with frequent gulps of water, which, by good fortune, they had at hand.

The fifth day about noon they came to a place called Barbacoa: here they found traces of another ambuscade, but the place totally as unprovided as the former. At a small distance were several plantations, which they searched very narrowly, but could not find any person, animal, or other thing, to relieve their extreme hunger. Finally, having ranged about, and searched a long time, they found a grot, which seemed to be but lately hewn out of a rock, where were two sacks of meal, wheat, and like things, with two great jars of wine, and certain fruits called platano's. Captain Morgan knowing some of his men were now almost dead with hunger, and fearing the same of the rest, caused what was found to be distributed among them who were in greatest necessity: having refreshed themselves with these victuals, they marched anew with greater courage than ever. Such as were weak were put into the canoes, and those commanded to land that were in them before. Thus they prosecuted their journey till late at night; when coming to a plantation, they took up their rest, but without eating any thing: for the Spaniards, as before, had swept away all manner of provisions.

The sixth day they continued their march, part by land, and part by water: howbeit, they were constrained to rest very frequently, both for the ruggedness of the way and their extreme weakness, which they endeavoured to relieve by eating leaves of trees and green herbs, or grass, such was their miserable condition! This day at noon they arriv-  
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ed at a plantation, where was a barn full of maiz; immediately they beat down the doors, and eat it dry, as much as they could devour; then they distributed a great quantity, giving every man a good allowance. Thus provided, and prosecuting their journey for about an hour, they came to another ambuscade. This they no sooner discovered, but they threw away their maiz, with the sudden hopes of finding all things in abundance; but they were much deceived, meeting neither Indians nor victuals, nor any thing else: but they saw, on the other side of the river, about 100 Indians, who all fleeing, escaped. Some few pirates leaped into the river to cross it, and try to take any of the Indians, but in vain: for being much more nimble than the pirates, they not only baffled them, but killed two or three with their arrows; houting at them, and crying, *Ha! perros, à la savana, à la savana.* "Ha! ye dogs, go to the plain, go to the plain."

This day they could advance no farther, being necessitated to pass the river, to continue their march on the other side. Hereupon they reposed for that night, though their sleep was not profound; for great murmurings were made at captain Morgan, and his conduct; some being desirous to return home, while others would rather die there than go back a step from their undertaking; others who had greater courage, laughed and joked at their discourses. Mean while, they had a guide, who much comforted them, saying, "It would not be long before they met with people from whom they should reap some considerable advantage."

The seventh day, in the morning, they made clean their arms, and every one discharged his pistol, or musket, without bullet, to try their fire locks: this done, they crossed the river, leaving the post where they had rested, called Santa Cruz, and at noon

noon they arrived at a village called Cruz. Being yet far from the place, they perceived much smoke from the chimnies; the sight hereof gave them great joy, and hopes of finding people, and plenty of good cheer. Thus they went on as fast as they could, encouraging one another, saying, "There is smoke comes out of every house; they are making good fires, to roast and boil what we are to eat;" and the like.

At length they arrived there, all sweating and panting, but found no person in the town, nor any thing eatable to refresh themselves, except good fires, which they wanted not; for the Spaniards, before their departure, had every one set fire to his own house, except the king's storehouses and stables.

They had not left behind them any beast, alive or dead, which much troubled their minds, not finding any thing but a few cats and dogs, which they immediately killed and devoured. At last, in the king's stables they found, by good fortune, 15 or 16 jars of Peru wine, and a leathern sack, full of bread. No sooner had they drank of this wine, when they fell sick, almost every man: this made them think the wine was poisoned, which caused a new consternation in the whole camp, judging themselves now to be irrecoverably lost. But the true reason was, their want of sustenance, and the manifold sorts of trash they had eaten. Their sickness was so great, as caused them to remain there till the next morning, without being able to prosecute their journey in the afternoon. This village is seated in 9 deg. 2 min. north latitude, distant from the river Chagre 26 Spanish leagues, and 8 from Panama. This is the last place to which boats or canoes can come; for which reason they built here storehouses for all sorts of merchandize, which to and from Panama are transported on the backs of mules.

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Here captain Morgan was forced to leave his canoes, and land all his men, though never so weak; but lest the canoes should be surprized, or take up too many men for their defence, he sent them all back to the place where the boats were, except one, which he hid, that it might serve to carry intelligence. Many of the Spaniards and Indians of this village having fled to the near plantations, captain Morgan ordered that none should go out of the village, except companies of 100 together, fearing lest the enemies should take an advantage upon his men. Notwithstanding one party contravened these orders, being tempted with the desire of victuals; but they were soon glad to fly into the town again, being assaulted with great fury by some Spaniards and Indians, who carried one of them away prisoner. Thus the vigilancy and care of captain Morgan was not sufficient to prevent every accident.

The eighth day in the morning captain Morgan sent 200 men before the body of his army, to discover the way to Panama, and any ambuscades therein; the path being so narrow, that only ten or twelve persons could march a-breast, and often not so many. After ten hours march they came to a place called Quebrada Obscura; here, all on a sudden, 3 or 4000 arrows were shot at them, they not perceiving whence they came, or who shot them; tho' they presumed it was from a high rocky mountain, from one side to the other, whereon was a grot capable of but one horse, or other beast laded. This multitude of arrows much alarmed the pirates, especially because they could not discover whence they were discharged. At last, seeing no more arrows, they marched a little farther, and entered a wood: here they perceived some Indians to fly as fast as they could, to take the advantage of another post, thence to observe their march; yet there remained



mained one troop of Indians on the place, resolved to fight and defend themselves, which they did with great courage, till their captain fell down wounded who, though he despaired of life, yet his valour being greater than his strength, would ask no quarter, but endeavouring to raise himself, with undaunted mind laid hold of his azagayo, or javelin and struck at one of the pirates; but before he could second the blow, he was shot to death. This was also the fate of many of his companions, who, like good soldiers, lost their lives with their captain, for the defence of their country.

The pirates endeavoured to take some of the Indians prisoners, but they being swifter than the pirates, every one escaped, leaving eight pirates dead, and ten wounded: yea, had the Indians been more dextrous in military affairs, they might have defended that passage, and not let one man pass. A little while after they came to a large champaign, open, and full of fine meadows: hence they could perceive at a distance before them some Indians on the top of a mountain, near the way by which they were to pass: they sent fifty men, the nimblest they had, to try to catch any of them, and force them to discover their companions; but all in vain; for they escaped by their nimbleness, and presently shewed themselves in another place, hollowing to the English, and crying, *A la savana, à la savana, cornudos, perros Ingleses*: that is, "To the plain, to the plain, ye cuckolds, ye English dogs." Mean while the ten pirates that were wounded, were dressed and plaistered up.

Here was a wood, and on each side a mountain. The Indians possessed themselves of one, and the pirates of the other. Captain Morgan was persuaded the Spaniards had placed an ambuscade there, it lying so conveniently: hereupon he sent 200 men



to search it. The Spaniards and Indians perceiving the pirates descend the mountain, did so too, as if they designed to attack them; but being got into the wood, out of sight of the pirates, they were seen no more, leaving the passage open.

About night fell a great rain, which caused the pirates to march the faster, and seek for houses to preserve their arms from being wet; but the Indians had set fire to every one, and driven away all their cattle, that the pirates, finding neither houses nor victuals, might be constrained to return: but, after, diligent search, they found a few shepherds huts, but in them nothing to eat. These not holding many men, they placed in them out of every company, a small number, who kept the arms of the rest; those who remained in the open field, endured much hardship that night, the rain not ceasing till morning.

Next morning, about break of day, being the ninth of this tedious journey, captain Morgan marched on while the fresh air of the morning lasted; for the clouds hanging yet over their heads, were much more favourable than the scorching rays of the sun, the way being now more difficult than before. After two hours march they discovered about twenty Spaniards, who observed their motions: they endeavoured to catch some of them, but could not, they suddenly disappearing and absconding themselves in caves among the rocks, unknown to the pirates. At last, ascending a high mountain, they discovered the South-Sea: this happy sight, as if it were the end of their labours, caused infinite joy among them; hence they could descry also one ship and six boats, which were set forth from Panama, and sailed towards the islands of Tovago and Tovagilla; then they came to a vale where they found much cattle, whereof they killed good store:  
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here, while some killed and flayed cows, horses, bulls, and chiefly asses, of which there were most, others kindled fires, and got wood to roast them; then cutting the flesh into convenient pieces, or gobbets, they threw them into the fire, and half carbonadoed or roasted, they devoured them with incredible haste and appetite; such was their hunger, as they more resembled cannibals than Europeans, the blood many times running down from their beards to their waists.

Having satisfied their hunger, captain Morgan ordered them to continue the march. Here, again, he sent before the main body 50 men to take some prisoners, if they could; for he was much concerned, that in nine days he could not meet one person to inform him of the condition and force of the Spaniards. About evening they discovered about 200 Spaniards, who hollowed to the pirates, but they understood not what they said. A little while after they came in sight of the highest steeple of Panama; this they no sooner discovered, but they shewed signs of extreme joy, casting up their hats into the air, leaping and shooting, just as if they had already obtained the victory, and accomplished their designs. All their trumpets sounded, and drums beat, in token of this alacrity of their minds: thus, they pitched their camp for that night, with general content of the whole army, waiting with impatience for the morning, when they intended to attack the city. This evening appeared 50 horse, who came out of the city, on the noise of the drums and trumpets, to observe, as it was thought, their motions: they came almost within musket-shot of the army, with a trumpet that sounded merrily well. Those on horseback hollowed aloud to the pirates, and threatened them, saying, *Perros! nos voremos*: that is, "Ye dogs! we shall meet ye." Having made this menace, they returned to the city,

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except only seven or eight horsemen, who hovered thereabouts to watch their motions. Immediately after the city fired, and ceased not to play their biggest guns all night long against the camp, but with little or no harm to the pirates, whom they could not easily reach. Now also the 200 Spaniards, whom the pirates had seen in the afternoon, appeared again, making a show of blocking up the passages, that no pirates might escape their hands. But the pirates, though in a manner besieged, instead of fearing their blockades, as soon as they had placed centinels about their camp, opened their satchels, and without any napkins or plates, fell to eating, very heartily, the pieces of bulls and horses flesh which they had reserved since noon. This done, they laid themselves down to sleep on the grass, with great repose and satisfaction, expecting only, with impatience, the dawning of the next day.

The tenth day, betimes in the morning, they put all their men in order, and, with drums and trumpets sounding, marched directly towards the city; but one of the guides desired captain Morgan not to take the common highway, lest they should find in it many ambuscades. He took his advice, and chose another way through the wood, though very irksome and difficult. The Spaniards perceiving the pirates had taken another way they scarce had thought on, were compelled to leave their stops and batteries, and come out to meet them. The governor of Panama put his forces in order, consisting of two squadrons, four regiments of foot, and a huge number of wild bulls, which were driven by a great number of Indians, with some negroes, and others to help them.

The pirates, now upon their march, came to the top of a little hill, whence they had a large prospect of the city and champaign country underneath;

neath; here they discovered the forces of the people of Panama, in battle array, to be so numerous, that they were surprized with fear, much doubting the fortune of the day; yea, few or none there were but wished themselves at home, or at least free from the obligation of that engagement, it so nearly concerning their lives. Having been some time wavering in their minds, they at last reflected on the straights they had brought themselves into, and that now they must either fight resolutely, or die; for no quarter could be expected from an enemy on whom they had committed so many cruelties: hereupon they encouraged one another, resolving to conquer, or spend the last drop of blood. Then they divided themselves into three battalions, sending before 200 Bucaniers, who were very dextrous at their guns; then descending the hill, they marched directly towards the Spaniards, who in a spacious field waited for their coming. As soon as they drew nigh, the Spaniards began to shout and cry, *Vive el roy!* "God save the king!" and immediately their horse moved against the pirates. But the fields being full of quags, and soft under foot, they could not wheel about as they desired. The 200 Bucaniers who went before, each putting one knee to the ground, began the battle briskly with a full volley of shot: the Spaniards defended themselves courageously, doing all they could to disorder the pirates. Their foot endeavoured to second the horse, but were constrained by the pirates to leave them. Finding themselves baffled, they attempted to drive the bulls against them behind, to put them into disorder; but the wild cattle ran away, frightened with the noise of the battle; only some few broke through the English companies, and only tore the colours in pieces, while the Bucaniers shot every one of them dead.

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The battle having continued two hours, the greatest part of the Spanish horse was ruined, and almost all killed; the rest fled, which the foot seeing, and that they could not possibly prevail, they discharged the shot they had in their muskets, and throwing them down, fled away, every one as he could. The pirates could not follow them, being too much harrassed and wearied with their long journey. Many not being able to fly whither they desired, hid themselves, for that present, among the shrubs of the sea-side, but very unfortunately; for most of them being found by the pirates, were instantly killed without any quarter. Some religious men were brought prisoners before captain Morgan; but he being deaf to their cries, commanded them all to be pistoled, which was done. Soon after they brought a captain to him, whom he examined very strictly; particularly, wherein consisted the forces of those of Panama? He answered, their whole strength consisted in 400 horse, 24 companies of foot, each of 100 men complete; 60 Indians, and some negroes, who were to drive 2000 wild bulls upon the English, and thus by breaking their files, put them into a total disorder: beside, that in the city they had made trenches, and raised batteries in several places, in all which they had placed many guns; and that at the entry of the highway leading to the city, they had built a fort, mounted with 8 great brass guns, defended by 50 men.

Captain Morgan having heard this, gave orders instantly to march another way; but first he made a review of his men, whereof he found both killed and wounded a considerable number, and much greater than had been believed. Of the Spaniards were found 600 dead on the place, besides the wounded and prisoners. The pirates, nothing discouraged on seeing their number so diminished, but rather



rather filled with greater pride, perceiving what a great advantage they had obtained against the enemies, having rested some time, prepared to march courageously towards the city, plighting their oath to one another, that they would fight till not a man was left alive. With this courage they recommenced their march, either to conquer or be conquered, carrying with them all the prisoners.

They found much difficulty in their approach to the city, for within the town the Spaniards had placed many great guns at several quarters, some charged with small pieces of iron, and others with musket-bullets: with all these they saluted the pirates at their approaching, and gave them full and frequent broadsides, firing at them incessantly; so that unavoidably they lost at every step great numbers of men. But these manifest dangers of their lives, nor the sight of so many as dropped continually at their sides, could deter them from advancing, and gaining ground every moment on the enemy: and though the Spaniards never ceased to fire, and act the best they could for their defence, yet they were forced to yield, after three hours combat. And the pirates having possessed themselves killed and destroyed all that attempted in the least to oppose them. The inhabitants had transported the best of their goods to more remote and occult places; howbeit, they found in the city several warehouses well stocked with merchandize, as well silks and cloths as linen, and other things of value. As soon as the first fury of their entrance was over, Captain Morgan assembled his men, and commanded them under great penalties, not to drink or taste any wine; and the reason he gave for it was, because he had intelligence that it was all poisoned by the Spaniards. Howbeit, it was thought he gave them prudent orders to prevent the debauchery of his

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people, which he foresaw would be very great at the first, after so much hunger sustained by the way; fearing withal, lest the Spaniards, seeing them in wine, should rally, and falling on the city use them as inhumanly as they had used the inhabitants before.

CHAP. XX.

*Captain Morgan sends canoes and boats to the South-sea. He fires the city of Panama. Robberies and cruelties committed there by the pirates, till their return to the castle of Chagre.*

Captain Morgan, as soon as he had placed necessary guards at several quarters, within and without the city, commanded twenty-five men to seize a great boat which had stuck in the mud of the port for want of water at a low tide. The same day about noon he caused fire privately to be set to several great edifices of the city, no body knowing who were the authors thereof, much less on what motives captain Morgan did it, which are unknown to this day: the fire increased so that before night the greatest part of the city was in a flame. Captain Morgan pretended the Spaniards had done it, perceiving that his own people reflected on him for that action. Many of the Spaniards, and some of the pirates, did what they could, either to quench the flame, or by blowing up houses with gunpowder, and pulling down others, to stop it, but in vain; for in less than half an hour it consumed a whole street. All the houses of this city were built with cedar, very curious and magnificent, and richly adorned, especially with hangings and paintings, whereof part were before removed, and another great part were consumed by fire.

There were in this city (which is the see of a bishop)

eight monasteries, seven for men, and one for women, two stately churches, and one hospital. The churches and monasteries were richly adorned with altar-piece and paintings, much gold and silver, with other precious things; all which the ecclesiasticks had hidden. Besides which, here were two thousand houses of magnificent building, the greatest part inhabited by merchants vastly rich. For the rest of less quality, and tradesmen, this city contained 5,000 more. Here were also many stables for the horses and mules that carry the plate of the king of Spain, as well as private men, towards the North-sea. The neighbouring fields are full of fertile plantations and pleasant gardens, affording delicious prospects to the inhabitants all the year.

The Geneose had in this city a stately house for their trade of negroes. This likewise was by captain Morgan burnt to very ground, besides which building, there were consumed 200 warehouses, and many slaves, who had hid themselves therein, with innumerable sacks of meal; the fire of which continued four weeks after it had began. The greatest part of the pirates still encamped without the city, fearing and expecting the Spaniards would come and fight them anew, it being known they outnumbered the pirates. This made them keep the field, to preserve their forces united, now much diminished by the losses. Their wounded, which were many, they put into one church which remained standing, the rest being consumed by the fire. Besides these decreases of their men, captain Morgan had sent a convoy of 150 men to the castle of Chagre, to carry the news of his victory to Panama.

They saw often whole troops of Spaniards run and fro in the fields, which made them suspect them rallying, which they never had the courage to do. In the afternoon captain Morgan re-entered the city.

with his troops, that every one might take up their lodgings, which now they could hardly find, few houses having escaped the fire; then they sought very carefully among the ruins and ashes for utensils of plate or gold, that were not quite wasted by the flames; and of such they found no small number, especially in wells and cisterns, where the Spaniards had hid them.

Next day captain Morgan dispatched away two troops of 150 men each, stout and well armed, to seek for the inhabitants who were escaped. These having made several excursions up and down the fields, woods, and mountains adjacent, returned after two days, bringing above 200 prisoners, men, women, and slaves. The same day returned also the boat which captain Morgan had sent to the South-sea, bringing three other boats which they had taken. But all these prizes they could willingly have given, and greater labour into the bargain, for one galleon, which miraculously escaped, richly laden with all the king's plate, jewels, and other precious goods of the best and richest merchants of Panama: on board which were also the religious women of the nunnery, who had embarked with them all the ornaments of their church, consisting in much gold, plate, and other things of great value.

The strength of this galleon was inconsiderable, having only seven guns, and ten or twelve muskets, and very ill provided of victuals, necessaries, and fresh water, having no more sails than the uppermost of the mainmast: this account the pirates received from some who had spoke with seven mariners belonging to the galleon, who came ashore in the cock-boat for fresh water. Hence they concluded they might easily have taken it, had they given her chase, as they should have done; but they were impeded from following this vastly rich prize by their lascivi-



ous exercises with women, which they had caried and forced on board their boat. To this vice were also joined those of gluttony and drunkenness, having plentifully debauched themselves with several rich wines they found ready, choosing rather to satiate their lusts and appetites than to lay hold on such huge advantage; since this only prize would have been of far greater value than all they got at Panama, and the places thereabouts. Next day, repenting of their negligence, being weary of their vices and debaucheries, they set forth another boat well armed, to pursue with all speed the said galleon; but in vain the Spaniards who were on board having had intelligence of their own danger one or two days before while the pirates were cruizing so near them; whereupon they fled to places more remote and unknown.

The pirates found in the ports of the island of Tavoga and Tavogilla several boats laden with very good merchandize; all which they took, and brought to Panama, where they made an exact relation of all that had passed to captain Morgan. The prisoners confirmed what the pirates said, adding, that they undoubtedly knew where the galleon might then be, but that it was very probable they had been relieved before now from other places. This stirred up captain Morgan anew to send forth all the boats in the port of Panama to seek the said galleon till they could find her. These boats, being in all four, after eight days cruizing to and fro, and searching several ports and creeks, lost all hopes of finding her; hereupon they returned to Tavoga and Tavogilla; here they found a reasonable good ship newly come from Payta, laden with cloth, soap, sugar, and bisket, with 20,000 pieces of eight; this they instantly seized without the least resistance, and also a boat, which was not far off, on which the



laden great part of the merchandizes from the ship, with some slaves. With this purchase they returned to Panama somewhat better satisfied; yet withal much discontented that they could not meet with the galleon.

The convoy which captain Morgan had sent to the castle of Chagre returned much about the same time, bringing with them very good news: for while captain Morgan was on his journey to Panama, those he had left in the castle of Chagre had sent forth two boats to cruize. These met with a Spanish ship, which they chased within sight of the castle: this being perceived by the pirates in the castle, they put forth Spanish colours, to deceive the ship that stood before the boats; and the poor Spaniards, thinking to take refuge under the castle, were caught in a snare, and made prisoners. The cargo on board the said vessel consisted in victuals and provisions, than which nothing could be more opportune for the castle, where they began already to want things of that kind.

This good luck of those of Chagre caused captain Morgan to stay longer at Panama, ordering several new excursions into the country round about; and while the pirates at Panama were upon these expeditions, those at Chagre were busy in piracies on the North-sea. Captain Morgan sent forth daily parties of 200 men, to make inroads into all the country round about; and when one party came back, another went forth, who soon gathered much riches, and many prisoners. These being brought into the city, were put to the most exquisite tortures, to make them confess both other people's goods and their own. Here it happened that one poor wretch was found in the house of a person of quality, who had put on, amidst the confusion, a pair of taffety breeches of his master's, with a little silver key hanging

ing out; perceiving which they asked him for the cabinet of the said key. His answer was, he knew not what was become of it; but that finding those breeches in his master's house, he had made bold to wear them. Not being able to get any other answer, they put him on the rack, and inhumanly disjointed his arms; then they twisted a cord about his forehead, which they wrung so hard, that his eyes appeared as big as eggs, and were ready to fall out. But with these torments not obtaining any positive answer, they hung him up by the testicles, giving him many blows and stripes under that intolerable pain and posture of body; afterwards they cut off his nose and ears, and singed his face with burning straw till he could not speak, nor lament his misery any longer: then, losing all hopes of any confession, they had a negro run him through, which put an end to his life, and to their inhuman tortures. Thus did many others of those miserable prisoners finish their days, the common sport and recreation of these pirates being such tragedies.

They spared, in these their cruelties, no sex nor condition: for as to religious persons, and priests they granted them less quarter than others unless they could produce a considerable sum sufficient for ransom. Women were no better used, except they submitted to their filthy lusts; for such as would not consent were treated with all the rigour imaginable. Captain Morgan gave them no good example in this point for when any beautiful woman was brought prisoner to his presence, he used all means, both of rigour and mildness, to bend them to his lascivious pleasure. For confirmation of which, I shall give a short history of a lady, whose virtue and constancy ought to be transmitted to posterity.

Among the prisoners brought by the pirates from Tavoga and Tavogilla was a gentlewoman of good quality

quality, and no less virtue and chastity, wife to one of the richest merchants there. She was young, and so beautiful, as perhaps few in all Europe surpassed her, either in comeliness or honesty. Her husband then was from home, being gone as far as Peru about his commerce and trade. This virtuous lady, hearing of the pirates coming, had fled, with other friends and relations, to preserve her life from the cruelties and tyrannies of those hard-hearted enemies; but no sooner did she appear before captain Morgan, but she was designed for his pleasure. Hereupon he lodged her in an apartment by herself, giving her a negro, or black woman, to wait on her, and treated her with all respect due to her quality. The poor afflicted lady begged, with many sobs and tears, to lodge among the other prisoners, her relations fearing that unexpected kindness of the commander might be a design on her chastity. But captain Morgan would by no means hearken to her, but commanded she should be treated with more particular care than before, and have her victuals from his own table.

This lady had formerly heard very strange reports concerning the pirates, as if they were not men, but, as they said, hereticks, who did neither invoke the blessed Trinity, nor believe in Jesus Christ. But now she began to have better thoughts of them, upon these civilities of captain Morgan; especially hearing him many times swear by God and Jesus Christ, in whom, she thought, they did not believe. Nor did she think them to be so bad, or to have the shapes of beasts, as had been related. As to the name of robbers or thieves, commonly given them, she wondered not much at it, seeing, among all nations of the universe, there were wicked men, covetous to possess the goods of others. Like this was the opinion of another woman of weak understanding at Panama, who used to say, before the pirates came thither, she had a great curiosity to see a pirate; her husband

husband having often told her, they were not like other men, but rather irrational beasts. This silly woman happening to see the first of them, cried out aloud, 'Jesus bless me! these thieves are like us Spaniards.'

This false civility of captain Morgan towards this lady, as is usual to such as pretend, and cannot obtain, was soon changed into barbarous cruelty; for after three or four days he came to see her, and entertained her with lascivious discourses, desiring the accomplishment of his lust. The virtuous lady constantly denied him with much civility, and many humble and modest expressions; but captain Morgan still persisted in his base request, presenting to her much pearl, gold, and whatever he had that was precious and valuable: but the lady, not willing to consent or accept his presents, shewing herself like Susannah for constancy, he presently changed his note, and addressed her in another tone, threatening a thousand cruelties and hard usages: to all which she gave only this resolute and positive answer: 'Sir, my life is in your hands; but as to my body, in relation to that which you would persuade me to, my soul shall sooner be separated from it through the violence of your arms, than I shall condescend to your request.' Captain Morgan understanding this her heroic resolution, commanded her to be stripped of the best of her apparel, and imprisoned in a darksome stinking cellar: here she was allowed a small quantity of meat and drink, wherewith she had much ado to sustain her life.

Under this hardship the virtuous lady prayed daily to God Almighty for constancy and patience; but captain Morgan, now thoroughly convinced of her chaste resolutions, as also desirous to conceal the cause of her hard usage, since many of his companions compassionated her condition, pretended she held

intelligence



intelligence with the Spaniards, and corresponded with them, abusing his lenity and kindness. I myself was an eye-witness thereof, and could never have judged such constancy and chastity to be found in the world, if my own eyes and ears had not assured me thereof. But of this incomparable lady I shall say something more hereafter.

Captain Morgan having now been at Panama full three weeks, commanded all things to be prepared for his departure. He ordered every company of men to seek so many beasts of carriage as might convey the whole spoil to the river where his canoes lay. About this time there was a great rumour, that a considerable number of pirates intended to leave captain Morgan, and that taking a ship then in the port, they determined to go and rob on the South-sea, till they had got as much as they thought fit, and then return homewards by way of the East-Indies. For which purpose they had gathered much provisions, which they had hid in private places, with sufficient powder, bullets, and all other ammunition; likewise some great guns belonging to the town, muskets, and other things, wherewith they designed not only to equip their vessel, but to fortify themselves in some island, which might serve them for a place of refuge.

This design had certainly taken effect, had not captain Morgan had timely advice of it from one of their comrades; hereupon he commanded the main-mast of the said ship to be cut down, and burnt with all the other boats in the port: hereby the intentions of all, or most of his companions, were totally frustrated. Then captain Morgan sent many of the Spaniards into the adjoining fields and country to seek for money to ransom not only themselves, but the rest of the prisoners, as likewise the ecclesiasticks. Moreover, he commanded all the artillery of the town to be nailed and stopped up. At the same time he sent



out a strong company of men to seek for the governor of Panama, of whom intelligence was brought, that he had laid several ambuscades in the way by which he ought to return: but they returned soon after, saying, they had not found any sign of any such ambuscades. For confirmation whereof, they brought some prisoners, who declared that the said governor had had an intention of making some opposition by the way, but that the men designed to effect it were unwilling to undertake it; so that for want of means he could not put his design in execution.

February twenty-fourth 1671, captain Morgan departed from Panama, or rather from the place where the city of Panama stood; of the spoils whereof he carried with him 175 beasts of carriage, laden with silver, and gold, and other precious things, beside about 600 prisoners, men, women, children, and slaves. That day they came to a river that passes through a delicious plain, a league from Panama; here captain Morgan put all his forces into good order, so as that the prisoners were in the middle, surrounded on all sides with the pirates, where nothing else was to be heard but lamentations, cries, shrieks, doleful sighs of so many women and children, who feared captain Morgan designed to transport them all into his own country for slaves: besides, all those miserable prisoners endured extream hunger and thirst at that time, which misery captain Morgan designedly caused them to sustain, to excite them to seek for money to ransom themselves, according to the tax he had set upon every one. Many of the women begged captain Morgan, on their knees, with infinite sighs and tears, to let them return to Panama, there to live with their dear husbands and children in little huts of straw, which they would erect, seeing they had no houses till the rebuilding of the city. But his answer was, 'he came not thither to hear lamentations

'tations and cries, but to seek money; therefore they  
'ought first to seek out that, where-ever it was to be  
'had, and bring it to him; otherwise he would  
'assuredly transport them all to such places, whither  
'they cared not to go.'

Next day, when the march began, those lamentable  
cries and shrieks were renewed, so as it would have  
caused compassion in the hardest heart; but captain  
Morgan, as a man little given to mercy, was not  
moved in the least. They marched in the same order as  
before, one party of the pirates in the van, the pri-  
soners in the middle, and the rest of the pirates in  
the rear, by whom the miserable Spaniards were at  
every step punched and thrust in their backs and sides  
with the blunt ends of their arms, to make them  
march faster. That beautiful and virtuous lady,  
mentioned before for her unparalleled constancy and  
chastity, was led prisoner by herself between two  
pirates. Her lamentations now pierced the skies,  
seeing herself carried away into captivity, often crying  
to the pirates, and telling them, 'that she had given  
'orders to two religious persons, in whom she had  
'relied, to go to a certain place, and fetch so much  
'money as her ransom did amount to; that they had  
'promised faithfully to do it, but having obtained the  
'money, instead of bringing it to her, they had em-  
'ployed it another way, to ransom some of their own  
'and particular friends.' This ill action of theirs  
was discovered by a slave, who brought a letter to the  
said lady. Her complaints, and the cause thereof,  
being brought to captain Morgan, he thought fit to  
enquire thereinto. Having found it to be true, espe-  
cially hearing it confirmed by the confession of the  
said religious men, though under some frivolous ex-  
cuses, of having diverted the money but for a  
day or two, in which time they expected more sums  
to repay it; he gave liberty to the said lady, whom

otherwise he designed to transport to Jamaica. But he detained the said religious men, as prisoners in her place, using them according to their deserts.

Captain Morgan arriving at the town called Cruz, on the banks of the river Chagre, he published an order among the prisoners, that within three days every one should bring in their ransom, under the penalty of being transported to Jamaica. Mean while he gave orders for so much rice and maiz to be collected thereabouts, as was necessary for victualling his ships. Here some of the prisoners were ransomed, but many others could not bring in the money. Hereupon he continued his voyage, leaving the village on the fifth of March following, carrying with him all the spoil he could. Hence he likewise led away some new prisoners, inhabitants there, with those of Panama who had not paid their ransoms: but the two religious men, who had diverted the lady's money, were ransomed three days after by other persons, who had more compassion for them than they had shewed for her. About the middle of the way to Chagre, captain Morgan commanded them to be mustered, and caused every one to be sworn, that they had concealed nothing, not even to the value of six-pence. This done, captain Morgan knowing those lewd fellows would not stick to swear falsely for interest, he commanded every one to be searched very strictly, both in their clothes and satchels, and elsewhere. Yea, that this order might not be ill taken by his companions, he permitted himself to be searched even to his very shoes. To this effect, by common consent, one was assigned out of every company to be searchers of the rest. The French pirates that assisted on this expedition disliked this new practice of searching; but being out-numbered by the English, they were forced to submit as well as the rest. The search being over, they re-embarked, and arrived at the castle of

of Chagre on the ninth of March. Here they found all things in good order, excepting the wounded men whom they had left at their departure; for of these the greatest number were dead of their wounds.

From Chagre, captain Morgan sent presently after his arrival a great boat to Puerto Bello, with all the prisoners taken at the isle of St. Catherine, demanding of them a considerable ransom for the castle of Chagre, where he then was, threatening otherwise to ruin it. To this those of Puerto Bello answered, they would not give one farthing towards the ransom of the said castle, and the English might do with it as they pleased. Hereupon the dividend was made of all the spoil gotten in that voyage; every company and every particular person therein receiving their proportion, or rather what part thereof captain Morgan pleased to give them. For the rest of his companions, even of his own nation, murmured at his proceedings, and told him to his face, that he had reserved the best jewels to himself: for they judged it impossible that no greater share should belong to them than two hundred pieces of eight per capita, of so many valuable plunders they had made; which small sum they thought too little for so much labour, and such dangers as they had been exposed to. But captain Morgan was deaf to all this, and many other like complaints, having designed to cheat them of what he could.

At last, finding himself obnoxious to many censures of his people, and fearing the consequence, he thought it unsafe to stay any longer at Chagre, but ordered the ordnance of the castle to be carried on board his ships; then he caused most of the walls to be demolished, the edifices to be burnt, and as many other things ruined, as could be done in a short time: this done, he went secretly on board his own ship, without



## *The HISTORY of the*

out giving any notice to his companions, and put out to sea, being only followed by three or four vessels of the whole fleet. These were such (the French pirates believed) as went shares with captain Morgan in the best part of the spoil, which had been concealed from them in the dividend. The Frenchmen could willingly have revenged themselves on captain Morgan, and his followers, had they been able to encounter him at sea; but they were destitute of necessaries, and had much ado to find sufficient provisions for their voyage to Jamaica, he having left them unprovided for all things.

### C H A P. XXI.

*A voyage made by the author along the coast of Costa Rica, at his return towards Jamaica. What happened most remarkable in the said voyage. Some observations then made by him.*

Captain Morgan left us all in such a miserable condition, as lively represented what reward attends wickedness in the end; whence we ought to have learned to regulate and amend our actions for the future. We were so reduced, that every company which was left, whether English or French, being compelled to help themselves, most of them separated from each other, and several companies took several courses at their return homewards. That party to which I did belong, steered along the coast of Costa Rica, to get provisions, and careen our vessel in some secure place or other; for our boat was grown foul, and unfit for sailing. In a few days we arrived at a great port called Bocca del Toro, where are always multitudes of good eatable tortoises. It is about ten leagues in compass, surrounded with little islands, under which vessels may ride secure from violent winds.

These



These islands are inhabited by Indians, who never could be subdued by the Spaniards; and hence they called them *Indios bravos*, or wild Indians. They are divided, according to the variety of their language, into several people, whence it is that they are in perpetual wars. Towards the east-side of this port are some who formerly did trade much with the pirates, selling them the flesh of divers animals which they hunt, as also all sorts of fruits; the exchange for which was iron instruments which the pirates brought, beads, and toys, whereof they made great account for wearing, more than of precious jewels, which they neither knew, nor esteemed. But this commerce failed, the pirates committing many barbarities, killing their men, and taking away their women to serve their lust, which put an end to all friendship and commerce between them.

We went ashore to seek provisions, our necessity being extream; but we could find nothing but a few eggs of crocodiles, wherewith we were forced to be content; hereupon we left those quarters, and steered eastward: upon this tack we met three boats more of our own companions, who had been left behind by captain Morgan; these told us, they had been able to find no relief for their extream hunger, and that captain Morgan himself, and his people, were reduced to such misery, as he could afford them no more than one short allowance a day.

Hearing thus that little or no good was to be expected by sailing farther eastward, we changed our course westward: here we found a vast many tortoises more than we needed to victual our boats, though for a long time. Being provided with this sort of victuals, the next thing we wanted was fresh water: there was enough to be had in the neighbouring islands, but we scarce dared to land, by reason of the enmity abovesaid between the pirates and

and Indians. But, necessity having no law, we were forced to do as we could, not as we desired. Hereupon we went all of us together to one of the islands; being landed, one party of our men ranged the woods, while another filled the barrels with water. Scarce an hour past, when suddenly the Indians came upon us, and one of our men cried, Arm, arm. We presently began to fire at them as hot as we could; this stopped them, and in short time put them to flight, sheltering themselves in the woods. We pursued them, but not far, desiring rather to get in our water than any advantage on the enemy. Coming back, we found two Indians dead on the shore; the habiliments of one shewed him to be a person of quality among them; for he had about his body a girdle, or sash, richly woven; and on his face he wore a beard of massy gold, I mean a small planch of gold hung down at his lips by two strings which run through two little holes made there on purpose, that covered his beard or served instead thereof. His arms were made of sticks of palmito-trees, very curiously wrought; at one end whereof was a kind of hook, which seemed to be hardened with fire. We should have spoken with some of these Indians, to reconcile them to us, and to renew the former trade, and obtain provisions, but it was impossible, through the savageness of their minds. However we filled our barrels with water, and carried them aboard.

The night following we heard from shore huge cries and shrieks among the Indians. These lamentations caused us to believe that they had called in many more people to their aid, or that they lamented the death of those two men. These Indians never came upon the sea, or ever built canoes, or any vessels for navigation, not so much as fisher-boats, of which art of fishery they are ignorant. At last,  
having

having nothing else to hope for in these parts, we resolved to depart for Jamaica. Being set forth, we met with contrary winds, which caused us to use our oars, and row to the river of Chagre. When we came near it, we perceived a ship that began to give us chase; we feared it was a ship from Carthagena, sent to rebuild and retake possession of the castle of Chagre, now the pirates had left it. Hereupon we set our sail, and ran before the wind, to make our escape; but the vessel being much swifter and cleaner than ours, easily got the wind of us, and stopped our course. They approaching to us we discovered them to be our former comrades in the expedition of Panama, but lately sent out from Chagre. Their design was to go to Nombre de Dios, and thence to Carthagena, to seek some purchase or other: but the wind being contrary, they concluded to go in our company to the place whence we came, called Bocca del Toro.

This accident and encounter retarded our journey two days, more than we could regain in a fortnight; this obliged us to return to our former station for a few days. Thence we directed our course for a place called Bocca del Dragon, to get provisions of flesh, especially of an animal called by the Spaniards manentine, by the Dutch sea cow, because its head, nose and teeth are very like those of a cow. They are found commonly, where, under the depth of the waters, it is full of grass, on which it is thought they feed. They have no ears, but in place of them, two little holes as wide as one's little finger: near the neck they have two fins, under which they have two udders, like the breasts of a woman. The skin is very close, resembling the skin of a Barbary or Guinea dog. This skin on the back is two fingers thick, which being dried is hard as whalebone and may serve to make walking-staffs. The belly is in all things like

like that of a cow, as far as the reins. Their manner of engendering is the same with that of a land cow, the male being every way like a bull. They conceive and breed but once; but what time they go with calf, I could not learn. These fishes have a very acute sense of hearing, so as in taking them the fishermen make not the least noise, nor row, unless very slightly. For this reason they use certain instruments for rowing, by the Indians called *Pagayos*, by the Spaniards *Caneletas*, with which they row without any noise to fright the fish. While they are fishing, they speak not one to another, only make signs. They dart them with a javelin as they do tortoises; but the point of the javelin somewhat differs, having two hooks at the end, and being longer. These fishes are from twenty to twenty-four feet long. Their flesh is good to eat, being like in colour to that of a land cow, but in taste, to pork. It has much fat or grease, which the pirates melt, and keep in earthen pots to use instead of oil.

Once when we could do any good at this fishery, some of our men going to hunt, and others to catch fish, we espied a canoe with two Indians; these no sooner discovered our vessels, but they rowed with all speed towards land, being unwilling to have any thing to do with us pirates; we followed them to the shore, but being naturally nimbler than us, they escaped into the woods; and, what was more, they drew ashore and carried with them their canoe into the wood, as easily as if it had been straw, though it weighed above 2000 weight; this we knew by the canoe itself, which we found afterwards, and had much ado to get into the water again, though we were in all eleven persons to pull at it.

We had then with us a pilot, who had been often in those parts; this man seeing this action of the Indians, told us, that some few years before, a squadron



of pirates arriving at that place, they went in canoes to catch some little birds, which frequent the sea-coast, among very beautiful trees. While they were busied, certain Indians who had climbed the trees to view them, seeing the canoes underneath, suddenly leaped down into the sea, and seized some of the canoes and pirates that kept them, both which they carried into the woods, that the prisoners could not be released by their companions. Hereupon the admiral of that squadron landed with 500 men to rescue his men, but they saw such a number of Indians flock together to oppose them, as obliged them to retreat in haste to their ships, concluding, that if such forces as those could not do any thing towards the recovery of their companions, they ought not to stay longer there. Having heard this history, we came away, fearing some mischief, and bringing with us the canoe, in which we found nothing but a fishing-net, not very large, and four arrows made of palm trees, seven feet long each; these arrows we believed to be their arms. The canoe we brought away was of cedar, but very roughly hewn, which made us think that those people have no instruments of iron.

Leaving that place, we arrived in twenty-four hours at another, called Rio de Zuera, where were some few houses belonging to Carthagera, inhabited by Spaniards, whom we resolved to visit, not being able to find any tortoises, nor any of their eggs. The inhabitants were all fled, leaving no victuals nor provisions, so we were forced to be contented with a certain fruit they called platanos; with these platanos we filled our boats and continued our voyage, coasting along the shore to find out some creek or bay, wherein to careen our vessel, which now was so very leaky, that night and day we were constrained to put several men, besides our slaves, to the pump. This voyage lasted a fortnight, all which time we were



were under continual fear of perishing. At last we arrived at a port called the Bay of Blevelt, so named from a pirate who used to resort thither, as we did; here one party of men went into the woods to hunt, while another undertook to refit and careen our vessel.

Our companions who went abroad to hunt, found hereabouts porcupines of a monstrous bigness: but their chief exercise was killing of monkeys, and birds called by the Spaniards Faisants or Pheasants; the toil of shooting seemed, at least to me, to be sufficiently compensated with the pleasure of killing the monkeys; for at these we usually made fifteen or sixteen shot before we could kill three or four, so nimbly would they escape our hands and aim, even after being much wounded. Besides, it was diversion to see the female monkeys carry their little ones at their backs, just as the negroes do their children. When any person passes under the trees where these monkeys are sitting, they will commonly squirt their excrements upon their heads and clothes; likewise, if shooting at a parcel of them, one happen to be wounded, the rest of them flock about him and lay their paws on the wound to hinder the blood from issuing forth; others gather moss from the trees, and thrust into the wound, and thereby stop the blood. At other times they gather such or such herbs, and chewing them in their mouths, apply them as a poultice. All which caused in me great admiration, seeing such strange actions in those irrational creatures, which testify the fidelity and love they have for one another.

On the ninth day after our arrival, our women slaves being busied in ordinary employments of washing of dishes, sewing, drawing water out of wells which we had made on the shore, and the like, one of them, who had seen a troop of Indians towards the woods,

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woods, cried out, Indians, Indians! we ran presently to our arms and their relief, but coming to the wood, we found no person there, but two of our women slaves killed upon the place with arrows: in their bodies we saw so many arrows sticking, as if they had been fixed there with particular care, for otherwise we know that one of them was sufficient to kill any man. These arrows were all of a rare shape, being eight feet long, and as thick as a man's thumb; at one end was a hook of wood, tied to the body of the arrow with a string, at the other end was a case or box like the case of a pair of tweezers, in which we found little pebbles or stones; the colour was very red, very shining, as if they had been locked up, all which we believed were the arms of their leaders. These arrows were all made without instruments of iron; for whatever the Indians make, they harden first artificially with fire, and then polish them with flints.

These Indians are of a very robust constitution, strong, and nimble at their feet: we sought carefully up and down the woods, but could find no track of them, nor any of their canoes nor floats which they use in fishing; hereupon we retired to our vessels, where having embarked all our goods, we put off from shore, fearing lest finding us there, they should return and overpower us.

C H A P. XXII.

*The author departs towards the cape of Gracias à Dios: The commerce of the pirates with the Indians. His arrival at the island de los Pinos; and finally, his return to Jamaica.*

THE great fear we had of those Indians, by reason of the death of our two women slaves, made

made us depart thence as fast as we could, directing our course towards the cape Gracias à Dios, where we placed our last hopes of provisions; for thither usually resort many pirates, who friendly correspond with the Indians there: being arrived at the said cape we rejoiced, and gave thanks to Almighty God, for having delivered us out of so many dangers, and brought us to this place of refuge, where we found people, who shewed us most cordial friendship, and provided us with all necessaries.

The custom here is, that when pirates arrive every one has liberty to buy himself an Indian woman at the price of a knife, or any old ax, wood bill, or hatchet. By this contract the woman is obliged to remain with the pirates all the time he stays there: she serve him in the mean while with victuals of all sorts that the country affords. The pirate has liberty also to go to hunt or fish when he pleases, or about any other divertisement, but is not to commit any hostility, or depredation, on the inhabitants, seeing the Indians bring him in all he needs or desires.

Through this frequent converse of these Indians with the pirates, they some times go to sea with them and remain with them whole years, without returning home; so that many of them can speak English and French, and some of the pirates their Indian language. Being very dextrous at their javelins, they are useful to the pirates in victualling their ships, by the fishery of tortoisés and manitas, a fish so called by the Spaniards: for one of these Indians is alone able to victual a vessel of 100 men. We had in our crew two pirates who could speak the Indian language: by whose help I inquired into their customs, lives and policy, whereof I shall give a brief account.

This island is about 30 leagues in circumference; it is governed as a little commonwealth

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without any king or sovereign prince; neither do they entertain any friendship or correspondence with other neighbouring islands, much less with the Spaniards: they are in all but a small nation, whose number exceeds not 1600 or 1700 persons. They have among them a few negro slaves, who happened to arrive there, swimming after shipwreck made on that coast: for being bound for Terra Firma, in a ship that carried them to be sold there, they killed the captain and mariners, with design to return to their country; but being ignorant of navigation, they stranded their vessel hereabouts. Though, as I said, they make but a small nation, yet they are as it were two sorts of people: of which one sort cultivates the ground, and makes plantations; but the other are so lazy, as they have no courage to build themselves huts, much less houses. They frequent chiefly the sea-coast, wandering up and down, without knowing, or caring so much as to cover their bodies from the rains (which are very frequent) unless with a few palm-leaves; these they put on their heads, and keep their backs always to the wind. They use no other clothes than an apron tied to their middle, coming down so as to hide their privities: such aprons are made of the rinds of trees, which are strongly beat upon stones, till they are softened; the same they use for bedclothes, except a few, who make them of cotton. Their usual arms are nothing but azagayas, or spears, which they make fit for use with points of iron, or teeth of crocodiles.

They know, after some manner, that there is a God, yet they live without any religion, or divine worship; and, as far as I can learn, they believe not in, nor serve the devil, as many other nations of America do; hereby they are not so much tormented by him as other nations are. Their ordinary

nary food, for the most part, consists in several fruits such as bananas, racoves, ananas, potatoes, cazaras also crabs, and some few fish, which they kill in the sea with darts. They are pretty expert in making certain pleasant and delicate liquors; the commonest among them is called *achioc*: this is made of a certain seed of palm-tree, bruised, and steeped in hot water, till it be settled at bottom; this liquor being strained off, hath a pleasant taste and is very nourishing. Other sorts of liquors they prepare, which I shall omit for brevity, only I shall say something of that made of *platanos*; these they knead with hot water, and then put into great calabashes full of cold water, for eight days, during which it ferments as well as the best wine: this liquor they drink for pleasure, and as a great regale so that when they invite their friends or relations they cannot treat them better than with this pleasant drink.

They are very unskilful in dressing victuals, so that they seldom treat one another with banquets; but when they invite others, they desire them to come and drink of their liquors. Before the invited persons come to their house, those that expect them comb their hair very well, and anoint their faces with oil of palm, mixed with a black tincture, which renders them very hideous: the women also dawb their faces with another sort of stuff, which makes them look as red as crimson; and such are their greatest ornaments and attire. Then he that invites, takes his arms, which are three or four *azagayas*, and goes out of his cottage 3 or 400 steps to wait for, and receive the invited persons. As soon as they draw nigh, he falls on the ground, lying flat on his face, without any motion, as if he was dead: being thus prostrate, the invited friends take him up, and set him on his feet, and go all together

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gether to the hut: here the persons invited use the same ceremony, falling down on the ground, as the laviter did before; but he lifts them up one by one, and giving them his hand, conducts them into his cottage, where he causes them to sit: the women on these occasions use few or no ceremonies.

Being thus brought into the house, there are presented every one with a calabash, of about four quarts, full of achioc, almost as thick as water-gruel, or childrens pap; these they are to drink off, and get down at any rate: the calabashes being emptied, the master of the house, with many ceremonies, goes about the room, and gathers his calabashes: and this drinking is reckoned but for one welcome. Afterwards, they drink of the achioc above-mentioned, to which they are invited; then follow many songs, dances, and a thousand caresses to the women; so that sometimes, for a testimony of their love, they take their darts, and with the points pierce and wound their genital parts: this I could not believe, though often affirmed to me, till my own eyes were witnesses of these and the like actions, neither only on this occasion do they use this ceremony of piercing their genitals, but also when they make love to any woman, thereby to let them understand the greatness of their affection and constancy.

They marry not any young maid without the consent of her parents. If any one desires to take a wife, he is first examined by the damsel's father concerning several points of good husbandry. These are commonly whether he can make azagayas, darts for fishing, or spin a certain thread, which they use about their arrows: having answered to satisfaction, the examiner calls to his daughter for a little calabash full of achioc; of this he drinks first, then gives the cup to the young man, and he to the

bride, who drinks it up, and with this only ceremony the marriage is made. When any one drinks to the health of another, the second person is to drink up the liquor left in the calabash. But in case of marriage, as was said, it is consumed only among those three, the bride obtaining the greatest share.

When the woman lies in, neither she nor her husband observe the time customary among the Caribbees; but as soon as the woman is delivered, she goes to the next river, brook, or fountain, and washes the new-born creature, swathing it up in certain rollers, or swath-bands, there called cabalas; this done, she goes about her ordinary labour. When the man dies, his wife buries him with all his azagayas, aprons, and ear-jewels; and comes every day to her husband's grave, bringing him meat and drink for a whole year after. Their years they reckon by the moons, allowing fifteen to every year, which make their intire circle, as our twelve months do ours.

Some writers of the Caribbee Islands affirm, that this ceremony of carrying victuals to the dead is general among them; and that the devil comes to the sepulchres, and carries away the meat and drink. But I know the contrary, having often myself taken away these offerings, and eaten them, knowing that the fruits used on these occasions were of the choicest, and the liquor of the best sort. The widow having completed her year, opens the grave, and takes out all her husband's bones; these she scrapes, and washes very well, and dries in the sun; then she ties them all together, and puts them into a cabalas, or sachel, and is obliged for another year to carry them upon her back by day, and sleep upon them by night, till the year is out; then she hangs up the bag and bones against the post of her  
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own door, if she be mistress of a house; if not, she hangs them at the door of her next neighbours or relations.

The widows cannot marry the second time, according to their customs, till after two years end. The men are bound to perform no such ceremonies for their wives; but if any pirate marry an Indian woman, she is bound to do in all things as if he were an Indian. The negroes on this island live in all respects according to their own customs. Now I shall continue the account of our voyage.

After we had refreshed and provided ourselves as well as we could at this island, we steered towards the island de los Pinos. Here we arrived in fifteen days, and were constrained to refit our vessel, which now again was very leaky, and not fit for sailing any farther. Hereupon we divided ourselves as before, some to careening the ship, others to fishing. In this last we were so successful, as to take, in six or seven hours, fish sufficient for one thousand persons. We had with us some Indians from the cape of Gracias a Dios, very dextrous both in hunting and fishing; with whose help we soon killed likewise, and salted, a huge number of wild cows, enough to satiate our hungry appetites, and to victual our vessel. These cows were formerly brought into this island by the Spaniards, that they might here multiply, and stock the country. We salted also a vast number of tortoises, which are here very plentiful. These things made us forget the miseries we had lately endured, and we began to call one another again by the name of brothers, which was customary amongst us, but had been refused in our miseries.

While we continued here, we feasted ourselves very plentifully without fear of enemies. For as to the Spaniards on the island, they were in friendship with us; only we were constrained to keep watch

and ward every night for fear of the crocodiles, which swarm all over the island; for these, when they are hungry, will assault any man and devour him, as it happened to one of our companions, who being gone into the wood, in company with a negro, they chanced upon a crocodile, which with incredible agility assaulted the pirate, and fastening upon his leg, cast him on the ground, the negro escaping by flight: yet he being a robust and a courageous man drew forth a knife he had then about him, and after a dangerous combat, stabbed the crocodile, which done, himself, tired with the battle, and weakened with loss of blood, lay for dead on the place. Being so found by the negro, who returned to see what was become of him, he took him on his back, and brought him to the sea side, though a whole league off, where we put him into a canoe, and conveyed him on board.

After this, none of our men dared to enter the woods without good company; and ourselves, desirous to revenge the disaster of our companion, went in troops next day to the woods to find out crocodiles to kill. These animals would come every night to the sides of our ship, and offer to climb up into the vessel. One of these one night was seized with an iron hook; but he, instead of flying to the bottom, began to mount the ladder of the ship till we killed him with other instruments. After we had remained there some time, and refreshed ourselves, we set sail for Jamaica. Here we arrived in a few days, after a prosperous voyage, and found captain Morgan got home before us; but had seen as yet none of his companions whom he left behind, we being the first that arrived there after him.

He was then very busy in persuading and levying people to transport to the isle of St. Catherine, which he designed to fortify, and hold for a common refuge



sage to all pirates, especially of his own nation, as was said ; but this design was soon hindered by the arrival of a man of war from England, which brought orders from his majesty of Great Britain to recal the governor of Jamaica to the court of England, to give an account of his favouring the pirates in those parts, to the vast detriment to the subjects of the king of Spain : the said man of war bringing over also a new governor of Jamaica, in place of the precedent. This gentleman entering on the government of the island presently gave notice to all the ports, by several boats sent forth to that intent, of the good correspondence the king of England resolved to maintain in those parts of the world, towards his catholic majesty, his subjects and dominions : and that for the future, he had received from his sacred majesty and privy-council strict and severe orders not to permit any pirate to set forth from Jamaica, commit any hostility or depredation on the Spanish nation or dominions, or on any other people of those neighbouring islands.

These orders being sufficiently divulged, the pirates who were abroad at sea began to fear them, so as they dared not return to the said island, but kept the seas, and continued to act what hostilities they could. The same pirates took and ransacked a considerable town in the isle of Cuba, called la Villa de los Calos, which we mentioned in the description of the said island. Here they committed again all sorts of inhuman and barbarous cruelties ; but the new governor of Jamaica behaved himself so constant to his duty, and the orders he had from England, that he apprehended several of the chief actors, and caused them to be hanged. This severity made those remaining abroad take warning, and retire to the island of Tortuga, lest they should fall into his hands : here they joined with the French pirates,



pirates, inhabitants there, in whose company they continue to this day.

## C H A P. XXIII.

*The relation of the shipwreck which monsieur Bertram Ogeron, governor of Tortuga, suffered near the isles of Guadanillas. He and his companions fell into the hands of the Spaniards. By what arts he escaped their hands, and preserved his life. The enterprize against Puerto Rico to deliver his people, and its unfortunate success.*

AFTER that expedition of Panama, the inhabitants of the French islands in America, in 1673 (while the war was so fierce in Europe between France and Holland) gathered a considerable fleet to possess themselves of the islands belonging to the United Provinces in the West-Indies. To this effect their admiral raised all the pirates and volunteers that he could persuade; and the governor of Tortuga caused to be built a good strong man of war, which he named Ogeron, and provided very well with ammunition, and manned with 500 Buccaneers, resolute men, being the vessel he designed for himself. Their first intention was to take the isle of Curasao, belonging to the said States of Holland; but this design miscarried by reason of a shipwreck.

Ogeron set sail from Tortuga as soon as things were ready, to join the fleet, and pursue the said enterprize: being arrived on the West of St. John de Puerto Rico, he was suddenly surprized with a violent storm to that degree, as drove his new frigate against the rocks, near the islands called Guadanillas, and broke it in a thousand pieces; yet being

near

near the land of Puerto Rico, all his men saved their lives in their boats.

Next day being got on shore, they were discovered by the Spaniards inhabiting the island, who taking them to be French pirates that meant to take the island anew, as they had done before, they alarmed the whole country, and gathering their forces together, marched against them; and they found them, for want of arms, not able to make any defence, begging quarter for their lives, as the custom is. But the Spaniards, remembering the horrible cruelties those pirates had many times committed, would have no compassion on them; but answering them, "Hah! ye thievish dogs, here's no quarter for you;" they assaulted them very furiously, and killed most of them. At last, perceiving they made no resistance, nor had any arms to defend themselves, they began to relent, taking prisoners as many as remained alive.

But, being still persuaded that those unfortunate people came with design to take again and ruin the island, they bound them with cords, two and two, or three and three together, and drove them through the woods into the open fields. Being come thus far with them, they asked them, What was become of their leader? They constantly made answer, He was drowned in the shipwreck, though they knew it was false. For Ogeron being unknown to the Spaniards, behaved himself among them as an innocent fool, and, in his actions, mimicked the natural so well, that he was not tied as the rest of his companions, but let loose to serve the pleasure and laughter of the common soldiers. These now and then would give him scraps of bread and other victuals, whereas the rest of the prisoners had never sufficient to satisfy their hungry stomachs, their allowance

lowance from the Spaniards being scarce enough to preserve them alive.

There was among the French pirates a surgeon, who having done some remarkable services to the Spaniards, was unbound and set at liberty to go freely up and down, even as Ogeron did. To this surgeon, Ogeron declared his resolution of attempting an escape from the cruelty and hard usage of those enemies, which they did by fleeing to the woods, there to make something or other wherein to transport themselves elsewhere, though they had nor could obtain no other thing in the world that could be serviceable in building of vessels, but one only hatchet. Thus they began their march towards the woods nearest the sea-coast. Having travelled all day long, they came about evening to the sea-side, almost unexpectedly, but without any thing to eat, or any secure place to rest their wearied limbs. At last they perceived nigh the shore an huge quantity of fishes, called by the Spaniards corladados. These frequently approach the sands of the shore, in pursuit of other little fishes that serve them for their food. Of these they took as many as they thought necessary, and by rubbing two sticks briskly together, they kindled fire, wherewith they made coals to roast them. Next day they began to cut down and prepare timber, to make a kind of small boat to pass over to the isle of Santa Cruz which belongs to the French.

While they were busied about their work, they discovered, at a great distance, a canoe steering directly towards the place where they were. This putting them in some fear, lest they should be found, and taken again by the Spaniards, they retired into the woods, till they could discern what people were in the canoe. At last, perceiving them to be no more than two men who seemed to be fisher-

men,

men, they concluded to hazard their lives, and, overcoming them, to seize the canoe. Soon after they perceived one of them, who was a mulatto, to go with calabashes hanging at his back towards a spring not far off to take in fresh water: the other, who was a Spaniard, staid behind him for his return. Seeing them divided, they assailed the mulatto first, and by a great blow upon the head dispatched him. The Spaniard, upon the noise, made towards the canoe, thinking to escape, but he was overtaken by the two, and killed. Having compassed their design, they fetched the corps of the mulatto, and cast both into the middle of the sea, to be consumed by the fish, by this means to conceal this fact forever from the Spaniards.

This done, they took in as much fresh water as they could, and set sail thence to seek some place of refuge. That day they steered along the coasts of Puerto Rico, and came to Cabo Roxo. Hence they traversed directly to Hispaniola, where many of their own comrades and companions were to be found. The currents of the waters and winds were very favourable, so as in a few days they arrived at a place called Samana, in the said island, where they found a party of their own people.

Ogeron being landed at Samana, ordered the surgeon to levy all the people he could in those parts, while he departed to revisit his government of Tortuga; where being arrived, he used all his endeavours to gather vessels and men to his assistance; so that in a few days he got a good number of both, well equipped and disposed to follow him. These were to go to St. John de Puerto Rico, and deliver his fellows whom he had left in the miserable condition as was said before. Having embarked all the people which the surgeon had levied at Samana, he made them a speech, telling them, " You may all



“ expect great spoil and riches from this enterprize  
 “ and therefore let all fear and cowardice be set  
 “ aside; on the contrary, fill your hearts with  
 “ courage and valour, for thus you will find your  
 “ selves soon satisfied of what at present bare hope  
 “ do promise.” Every one much relied on the  
 promises of Ogeron, and from his words conceived  
 no small joy in their minds. Thus they set sail  
 from Tortuga for the coasts of Puerto Rico. Being  
 come within sight of land, they used only their lower  
 sails, that they might not be discovered by the Spaniards,  
 till they came near the place where they intended  
 to land.

The Spaniards, notwithstanding this caution  
 having had intelligence of their coming, were prepared  
 for a defence, having posted many troops of  
 horse along the coasts to watch their descent. Ogeron  
 perceiving their vigilancy, ordered the vessels to  
 draw near the shore, and shoot off many great guns  
 which forced the cavalry to retire within the woods.  
 here lay concealed many companies of foot prostrate  
 on the ground. So the pirates made their descent  
 at leisure, and began to enter among the trees,  
 scarce suspecting any harm to be where the  
 horsemen could do no service; but no sooner were  
 they fallen into this ambuscade, than the Spaniards  
 arose and assaulted them so courageously, that they  
 soon destroyed great part of them. Thus leaving  
 great numbers dead on the place, the rest very hard-  
 ly escaped by flight to their ships.

Ogeron, though he escaped this danger, yet could  
 willingly have perished in the fight, rather than  
 suffer the shame which the ill success of this enter-  
 prize was like to bring upon his reputation: beside  
 that, those that he had attempted to rescue, were  
 now cast into greater miseries. Hereupon they  
 hastened back to Tortuga the same way they came,  
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with great confusion in their minds, much diminished in their number, and utterly disappointed of those spoils, the subject of their hopes, and of the promises of the unfortunate Ogeron. The Spaniards were very vigilant, and kept their posts near the sea-side till the fleet of pirates was out of sight; mean while they made an end of killing such of their enemies, as, being desperately wounded, could not escape by flight, and cut off several limbs from the dead bodies, to shew them to the former prisoners, for whose rescue these others had crossed the seas.

The fleet being gone, the Spaniards made bonfires, and great demonstrations of joy for their victory; but the French prisoners, who were there before, endured more hardship than ever. Of their misery and misusage, Jacob Binkes, governor at that time in America for the States General of the United Province was an eye-witness; for he arriving in that juncture at Puerto Rico, with some men of war, to buy provisions and other necessaries, he so pitied their misery, as to bring away by stealth five or six of them, which only exasperated the Spaniards; for soon after they sent the rest of the prisoners to the chief city of the island, to work and toil about the fortifications which then were making, forcing them to bring and carry stones, and all sorts of materials: these being finished, the governor transported them to Havanna, where they employed them also in fortifying that city: here they made them work by day, and at night they shut them up as close prisoners, lest they should enterprize upon the city; for of such attempts the Spaniards had had divers proofs, which gave them sufficient cause to use them so.

Afterwards, at several times, when ships arrived from New Spain, they transported them by degrees

into Europe, and landed them at Cadiz; but notwithstanding this care of the Spaniards to disperse them. they soon after met almost all in France, and resolved to return to Tortuga with the first opportunity: to this effect they assisted one another very lovingly with what necessaries they could, according to every one's condition; so that in a short while the greatest part had nested themselves again at Tortuga, their place of rendezvous. Here they equipped again a new fleet to revenge their former misfortunes on the Spaniards, under the conduct of one le Sieur Maintenon a Frenchman; with this fleet he arrived at the island de la Trinidad, between the isle of Tobago and the coasts of Paria. This island they sacked, and after put to the ransom of one hundred thousand pieces of eight. Hence they departed with design to take and pillage the city of Caraccas, over-against the island of Curasao, belonging to the Hollanders.

#### C H A P. XXIV.

*Encounters at the islands of Cayana and Tobago, between the count d'Estrees, admiral of France in America, and the Heer Jacob Binkes, vice-admiral of the United Provinces.*

**I**T is already known to the greatest part of Europe, that the prince of Courland began to establish a colony in the island of Tobago; and that some time after his people, for want of timely recruits, abandoned the same, leaving it to the next occupant. Thus it fell into the hands of Adrian and Cornelius Lampesius, natives of Flissing in Zealand, who arriving there in 1654, they fortified it by the order of the States General, building a good-

ly castle, in a convenient situation, capable of hindering the assaults of any enemies.

The strength of this castle was afterwards sufficiently tried by monsieur d'Estrees, as I shall relate, after I have first told you what happened before Cayana in 1676. This year the States General sent the vice-admiral, Jacob Binkes, to the island of Cayana, then in possession of the French, to repossess it. With these orders he set forth from Holland, March 16th in the said year, with a fleet of seven men of war, one fire-ship, and five other small vessels. This fleet arrived at Cayana, May 4th next following. Upon their arrival, the Heer Binkes landed 900 men, who approaching the castle, summoned the governor to surrender at discretion. He answered, "He thought of nothing less than surrendering, but that he and his people were resolved to defend themselves to the utmost." The Heer Binkes having received this answer, presently commanded his troops to attack the castle on both sides at once; the assault was very furious, but at length the French being very few, and overwhelmed with the multitude of their enemies, surrendered both their arms and the castle. In it were found 37 pieces of cannon. The governor, named monsieur Lefi, with two priests, were sent into Holland. The Heer Binkes lost in the combat 14 men only, and had 72 wounded.

The French king no sooner understood this, but he sent in October following the count d'Estrees to retake the said island from the Hollanders. He arrived there in December with a squadron of men of war, all well equipped and provided. Being come as far as the river Aperovaco, he met with a small vessel of Nantes, which had set forth from Cayana but a fortnight before, which gave him intelligence of the condition wherein he might be certain to find

find the Hollanders at Cayana. They told them there were 300 men in the castle, that all about it they had fixed strong palisadoes or empalements and that within the castle were mounted 26 pieces of cannon.

Monsieur d'Estrees being enabled with this intelligence to take his own measures, proceeded on his voyage, and arrived at the port of the said Island three leagues from the castle; here he landed 800 men in two several parties; one he placed under the count de Blinac, and the other under monsieur de St. Faucher. On board the fleet he left monsieur Gabaret, with divers other principal troops, which he thought not necessary to be landed. The men being set on shore, the fleet weighed anchor, and sailed very slowly toward the castle, while the soldiers marched by land. These could not travel otherwise than by nights, by reason of the excessive heats and intolerable exhalations of the earth, which here is very sulphurous, and no better than a smoky and stinking oven.

October 19th, the count d'Estrees sent monsieur de Lefi (who had been governor of the island, as was said before) demanding of them to deliver the castle to the obedience of the king his master, and to him in his sovereign's name. But those within resolved not to yield, but at the expence of their lives and blood; which answer they sent to monsieur d'Estrees. Hereupon the French, the next night, stormed the castle on seven several sides at once. The defendants having done their duty, and fought with as much valour as possible, were at last forced to surrender, having 38 persons killed; besides many wounded. All the prisoners were transported into France, where they were used with great hardship.

Monsieur



Monsieur d'Estrees having settled all things at the Isle of Cayana, departed thence for Martinico, where being arrived, he was told, that the Heer Blinks was then at the Island of Tobago, and his fleet lay at anchor in the bay. Upon this Intelligence, monsieur d'Estrees made no long stay there, but steered directly for Tobago. No sooner was he come nigh the island, but vice-admiral Blinks sent his land-forces with a good number of mariners on shore to manage and defend the artillery there. These forces were commanded by the captains Vander Graaf, Van Dongen, and Clavone, who laboured very hard all that night in raising batteries, and filling up the palisadoes of the fortress called Sterrschans.

Two days after the French fleet came to an anchor in the bay of Palmit, and immediately in eighteen boats they landed all their men. The Heer Blinks perceiving the French upon the hills, gave orders to burn all the houses near the castle, that the French might have no place to shelter themselves there. February 23d, monsieur d'Estrees sent a drum to the Hollanders to demand the surrendry of the fort, which was absolutely denied. Thus things continued till the 3d of March: on this day the French fleet came with full sail, and engaged the Dutch fleet, and the dispute was very hot on both sides; meantime, the land-forces of the French being sheltered by the thickness of the woods, advanced towards the castle, and stormed it very briskly; but were repulsed by the Dutch with such vigour, as caused them after three several attacks to retire, with the loss of above 150 men, and 200 wounded; these they carried off, or rather dragged away with no small difficulty, by reason of their disorderly retreat.

All this while the two fleets continued the combat, and fought very desperately, till on both sides some ships were consumed between Vulcan and Neptune;



tune; of this number was monsieur d'Estrees his own ship, mounted with 27 guns of prodigious bigness, besides smaller pieces. The battle lasted from break of day till evening; a little before which time monsieur d'Estrees quitted the bay with the rest of the ships to the Hollanders, except two, which were stranded under sail, having gone too high within the port, leaving the victory to the Hollanders, though with the loss of several ships that were burnt.

Monsieur d'Estrees finding himself under the shame of this defeat, and that he could expect no advantage for the present over the island of Tobago, set sail from thence March 18th, and June 21st he arrived at Brest in France. Having given an account of himself to the king, he was commanded to undertake again the enterprize of Tobago. To this effect he ordered eight great men of war and eight smaller to be equipped with all speed, with which monsieur d'Estrees set sail from the said port of Brest, October 3d following, and arrived December 1st at Barbadoes. Having received some recruits from Martinico, he sent before-hand to review Tobago, and set sail directly for the same, where he arrived December 7th, with all his fleet.

Immediately he landed 500 men under monsieur de Blinac, governor of the French islands in America; these were followed soon after by a thousand more. December 9th, they approached within 600 paces of a post called le Cort, where they landed the artillery designed for this enterprize. On the 10th monsieur d'Estrees went in person to view the castle, and demanded of the Heer Binkes, by a messenger, the surrendry thereof, which was generously denied. Next day the French advanced towards the castle, and on the 12th, the Dutch from within fired at them without intermission. The French began

began their attack by casting fireballs into the castle with main violence, the very third ball that was cast in, happened to fall in the path-way that led to the storehouse, where the powder and ammunition were kept; in this path was much powder scattered, through the negligence of those that carried it to and fro, for the necessary supply of the defendants, which by this means taking fire, it ran in a moment to the storehouse, which suddenly was blown up, and with it vice-admiral Binkes himself, and all his officers, only captain Van Dongen remained alive. This mischance being perceived by the French, they instantly ran with 500 men, and possessed themselves of the castle: here they found 300 men alive, whom they took prisoners, and transported into France. Monsieur d'Estrees, after this, commanded the castle to be demolished, with other posts that might serve for any defence, as also all the houses standing upon the island: this done, he departed thence December 27th, and arrived again in France after a prosperous voyage.

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P A R T II.

*The dangerous voyage and bold adventures of captain Sharp, Coxon, Sawkins, and others in the South Sea.*

C H A P. I.

*They set sail for the province of Darien, upon the continent of America. Their designs to pillage and plunder in those parts. Number of their ships and strength of their forces by sea and land.*

**A**T a place called Bocca del Toro was the general rendezvous of the fleet, which lately had taken and sacked Puerto Bello the second time; that rich place having been taken once before under the conduct of Sir Henry Morgan. At this place were two other vessels; the one belonging to captain Peter Harris, the other to captain Richard Sawkins, two English privateers. Here we had the news of a peace concluded between the Spaniards and the Indians of Darien, who were commonly at war one with the other. Also, that since the conclusion

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clusion of the said peace, they had been found very faithful to captain Bournano, a French commander, in an attempt upon a place called Chepo, nigh the South-Sea. Further, that the Indians had promised to conduct him unto a great and very rich place, named Tocamora; whereupon Bournano promised them to return in three months with more ships and men. This made us agree to visit the said place, and in order thereto dispersed ourselves into several Coves (by the Spaniards called Cuevas, *i. e.* hollow creeks under the coasts) there to careen and fit our vessels for that purpose. Here, *i. e.* at Bocca del Toro, we found plenty of fat tortoises, the pleasantest meat in the world. Our vessels being refitted, we rendezvoused at an island called by us the Water-Key, and our strength was as followeth:

	Tons.	Guns.	Men.
Capt. Coxon in a ship of	80	8	97
Capt. Harris in another of	150	25	107
Capt. Bournano — —	90	6	86
Capt. Sawkins — —	16	1	35
Capt. Sharp — — —	25	2	40
Capt. Cook — — —	35	0	43
Capt. Alleston — —	18	0	24
Capt. Row — — —	20	0	25
Capt. Macket — —	14	0	20
Total — — —	448	42	477

We sailed from thence March 23d, 1679, and in our way touched at the islands called Zamblas. These islands reach eight leagues in length, lying fourteen leagues westward of the river Darien. Being here at an anchor, many of the Indians, both men and women, came to see us; some brought plantanes, others other fruits, and venison, to exchange with us for beads, needles, knives, or any trifling bauble whereof

whereof they stand in need ; but they most cov  
axes and hatchets, for the felling of timber. The  
men here go naked, having only a sharp and ho  
low tip, made either of gold, silver, or bark, in  
which they thrust their privy members, which the  
fasten with a string about their middle : they wear  
as an ornament in their noses, a gold or silver plate  
in the form of a half-moon ; which when they drink  
they hold up with one hand, while they lift the  
cup with the other. The men paint themselves  
sometimes with streaks of black, and the women  
with red : the women have in their noses a pretty  
thick ring of gold or silver, and cover themselves  
with a blanket only : they are generally well fea  
tured ; among whom I saw several fairer than the  
fairest of Europe, with hair as white as the finest  
flax : it is reported of them, that they see better in  
the dark than in the light.

These Indians disliked our design for Tocamora  
and dissuaded us from it, asserting that it would  
prove too tedious a march, the way being so moun  
tainous and uninhabited, that it would be extreme  
difficult to get provisions for our men. Withal  
they proffered to guide us undescried within a few  
leagues of the city of Panama, in case we were  
pleased to go thither, where we knew we should  
make a good voyage. Upon these, and other rea  
sons which they gave us, we concluded to desist  
from the journey of Tocamora, and to proceed to  
Panama. These resolutions taken, captain Bour  
nano and captain Row's vessels separated from us,  
being all French, and not willing to go to Panama,  
they declaring themselves generally against a long  
march by land ; so we left them at the Zamblas.  
From thence an Indian captain, or chief commander,  
named Andr  as, conducted us to another island,  
called by the English the Golden Island, situated  
something



something to the westward of the mouth of the great river of Darien. At this island we met, being all seven sail, April 3, 1680.

Here the Indians gave us notice of a town called Santa Maria, situate on a great river of the same name, which runs into the South-Sea, by the gulph of San Miguel; that in the town was kept a garrison of four hundred soldiers; and that from this place much gold was carried to Panama, which was gathered from the mountains thereabouts; that in case we should not find sufficient booty there, we might from thence proceed by sea to Panama, where we could not easily fail of our designs. This motion of the Indians we liked so well, that we landed 331 men, April 5th, 1680, leaving captains Alleston and Macket, with a party of seamen, to guard our ships in our absence, with which we intended to return home.

These men that were landed, had each of them three or four cakes of bread (called by the English, Dough-boys) for their provision of victuals; and as for drink, the rivers afforded them enough. At our landing here captain Sharp was very faint and weak, having had a great fit of sickness, of which he was scarcely recovered. Our several companies that marched were distinguished as follows: First, captain Bartholomew Sharp, with his company, had a red flag, with a bunch of white and green ribbons: the second division, led by captain Richard Sawkins, with his men, had a red flag striped with yellow: the third and fourth, which were led by captain Peter Harris, had two green flags, his company marching in two distinct divisions: the fifth and sixth, led by captain John Coxon, who had some of Alleston's and Macket's men joined unto his, made two divisions or companies, and had each of them a red flag: the seventh was led by captain Edmund

Edmund Cook, with red colours striped with yellow, with a hand and sword for his device: all, or most of them, were armed with fuzee, pistol, and hanger.

## C H A P. II.

*They march towards the town of Santa Maria with a design to take it. The Indian king of Darien meeteth them. Difficulties of this march.*

**B**EING landed on the coast of Darien, and divided into companies, as was mentioned in the preceding chapter, we began our march towards Santa Maria, the Indians serving us for guides in that unknown country: thus we marched at first through a small skirt of a wood, and then over a bay almost a league in length; after that, we went two leagues directly up a woody valley, where we saw here and there an old plantation, and had a very good path to march in: there we came to the side of a river, which in most places was dry, and built us houses, or rather huts to lodge in.

Here another Indian, who was a chief commander, a man of great parts, named captain Antonio, joined us: this Indian officer mightily encouraged us to undertake the journey of Santa Maria, and promised to be our leader; saying, that he would have gone along with us presently, but that his child lay very sick; however, he was assured it would die by next day, and then he would most certainly follow and overtake us: withal, he desired we would not lie in the grass, for fear of monstrous adders which are very frequent in those places. Breaking some of the stones that lay in the river, we found them shine like sparks of gold. These stones are driven down from the neighbouring mountains in time of floods. This  
days

four of our men tired, and returned back to the ships; so we remained in all 327 men with six Indians to conduct us: that night some showers of rain fell.

The next day of our march we mounted a very steep hill, and on the other side, at the foot thereof, we rested on the bank of the river, which captain Andræas told us ran into the South-Sea, being the same river on which the town of Santa Maria was situated. Hence we continued our march until noon, and then ascended another mountain, far higher than the former. Here we were often, and in many places, in great danger, the mountain being so perpendicular, and the path so narrow, that but one man at a time could pass. We arrived in the evening on the other side of the mountain, and lodged again by the side of the same river, having marched that day, according to our reckoning, about 8 miles: this night likewise some rain fell.

The next morning, being April 7th, we marched all along the river afore-mentioned, crossing it often, almost at every half mile, sometimes up to the knees, and at other times up to the middle, in a very swift current; about noon we came to a place where we found some Indian houses; these were very large and neat; the sides were built with cabbage-trees, and the roofs with wild canes, thatched with palmito royal, but much neater than ours at Jamaica; they had many partitions, or distinct ground-rooms, but no ascent by stairs. At this place were four of these houses together, within a stone's throw of one another, each of them having a large plantane-walk before it. Half a mile from this place lived the king, or chief captain of these Indians of Darien, who came to visit us in royal robes, with his queen and family. His crown was made of small white reeds curiously woven, having no other top than its lining, which

which was red silk : round about the middle of it was a thin plate of gold, about two inches broad laced behind, in which stuck two or three ostrich feathers ; about this plate went also a row of golden beads, which were bigger than ordinary pease, underneath which the red lining of the crown was seen. In his nose he wore a large plate of gold, in form of a half-moon ; and in each ear a great golden ring, nigh four inches diameter, with a round thin plate of gold of the same breadth, having a small hole in the center, by which it hung to the ring. He was covered with a thin white cotton robe reaching to the small of his legs, and round its bottom was a fringe of the same, three inches deep ; so that by reason of the length of this robe, we could see no higher than his naked ankles : in his hand he had a long bright lance as sharp as any knife. With him he had three sons, each of them having a white robe, and their lances in their hands, but standing bare-headed before him, as did eight or nine persons more of his retinue or guard. His queen wore a red blanket, which was closely girt about her waist, another that came loosely over her head and shoulders, like our old-fashioned striped hangings. She had a young child in her arms, and two daughters walked by her, both marriageable, with their faces almost covered with stripes or streaks of red, and about their neck and arms almost laden with small beads of several colours. These Indian women of the province of Darien are generally very free, airy, and brisk ; yet withal very modest, and cautious in their husbands presence, of whose jealousy they stand in fear. With these Indians we made an exchange, or had a truck, as it is called, for knives, pins, needles, or any other such like trifles ; but in our dealings with them we found them to be very cunning. Here we rested ourselves

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for the space of one day; and withal chose captain Sawkins to lead the forlorn, unto whom, for that purpose, we gave the choice of fourscore men. The king ordered us each man to have three plantanes, with sugar canes to suck, by way of a present; but when these were consumed, if we would not truck we must have starved, for the king himself did not refuse to deal for his plantanes: this sort of fruit is first reduced to mash, then laid between leaves of the same tree, and so used with water, after which preparation they call it Miscelaw.

April nine we continued our march along the banks of the river above-mentioned, finding in our way here and there a house. The owners of the said houses would most commonly stand at the door, and give, as we passed by, to every one of us, either ripe plantane, or some sweet cazove-root: some of them would count us by dropping a grain of corn for each man that passed before them, for they know no greater number, nor can tell farther than twenty. That night we arrived at three great Indian houses, where we took up our lodgings, the weather being clear and serene all night.

The next day captain Sharp, captain Coxon, and captain Cook, with about threescore and ten of our men, embarked themselves in fourteen canoes upon the river to glide down the stream: among this number I did also embark, and we had in our company our Indian captain Andraes, of whom mention was made above; and two Indians more in each canoe, to pilot or guide us down the river: but if we were tired in travelling by land before, certainly we were in a worse condition now in our canoes; for at the distance of almost every stone's cast we were constrained to quit and get out of our boats, and haul them over either sands or rocks; at other times over trees that lay cross and filled up the river, so



that they hindered our navigation; yea, several times over the very points of land itself. That night we built ourselves huts to shelter in upon the river-side, and rested our wearied limbs till next morning.

The eleventh we prosecuted our journey all day long with the same fatigue and toil as we had done the day before: at night came a tyger, and looked on us for some while, but we dared not to fire at the animal, fearing we should be descried by the sound of our fuzees; the Spaniards, as we were told, not being at much distance from the place.

But the next day, being April 12, our pain and labour was rather doubled than diminished, not only for the difficulties of the way, which were intolerable, but chiefly for the absence of our main body of men, from whom we had parted the day before for now; hearing no news of them, we grew extremely jealous of the Indians, and their counsel suspecting it a design of those people thus to divide our forces, and then betray us to the Spaniards, our implacable enemies: that night we rested ourselves by building of huts, as we had done, and hath been mentioned before.

The next day, being Tuesday, we continued our navigation down the river, and arrived at a beach point of land, where another arm joineth the same river: here, as we understood, the Indians of Darien did usually rendezvous, whensoever they drew up in body, with intention to fight their ancient enemies the Spaniards. Here also we made a halt, and stayed for the rest of our forces and company, the Indians having now sent to seek them, being themselves not a little concerned at our dissatisfaction and jealousy. In the afternoon our companions came up with us and were very glad to see us, they having been

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no less fear for us than we had been in for them : we continued and rested there that night also, with design to fit our arms for action, which now, as we were told, was nigh at hand.

We departed from thence early the next morning, which was the last day of our march, being in all now the number of threescore and eight canoes, wherein were embarked 327 of us Englishmen, and 50 Indians, who served us for guides. To the point above-mentioned, the Indians had hitherto guided our canoes with long poles or sticks; but now we made ourselves oars and paddles to row withal, and thereby made what speed we could : thus we rowed with all haste imaginable, and on the river happened to meet two or three Indian canoes that were laden with plantanes. About midnight we arrived, and landed at the distance of half a mile, or thereabouts, from the town of Santa Maria, whither our march was all along intended : the place where we landed was very muddy, insomuch that we were constrained to lay our paddles upon it, and withal lift ourselves up by the boughs of the trees to support our bodies from sinking : afterwards we were forced to cut our way through the woods for some space, where we took up our lodgings for that night, for fear of being discovered by the enemy, whom we were so near.

### C H A P. III.

*They take the town of Santa Maria, with no loss of men, but meet not with so much booty as was expected. Description of the place, country, and river adjacent. They resolve to go and plunder a second time the city of Panama.*

THE next morning, which was Thursday, April 15, about break of day, we heard from the town a small arm discharged, and after that a drum beating a revailler ; with this we roused from our sleep, and

taking to our arms, we put ourselves in order, and marched towards the town. As soon as we came out of the woods into the open ground, we were descried by the Spaniards, who had received beforehand intelligence of our coming, and were prepared to receive us, having already conveyed away all their treasure of gold, and sent it to Panama. They ran immediately into a large palisado fort, having each pale or post twelve feet high, and began to fire very briskly at us as we came; but our vanguard ran up to the place, and pulling down two or three of their palisadoes, entered the fort instantly, and made themselves masters thereof. In this action there were not fifty of our men that came up before the fort was taken; and on our side only two were wounded, and not one killed; notwithstanding within the place were found two hundred and threescore men, besides which number, two hundred others were said to be absent, being gone up into the country, unto the mines, to fetch down gold, or rather to convey away what was already in the town. This golden treasure cometh down another branch of this river unto Santa Maria from the neighbouring mountains, where are thought to be the richest mines of the Indies, or, at least of all these parts of the western world. Of the Spaniards were killed in the assault twenty-six, and wounded to the number of sixteen more; but their governor, their priest, and all, or most of their chief men, made their escape by flight.

Having taken the fort, we expected to find here a considerable town belonging to it; but it proved to be only some wild houses made of cane, the place being chiefly a garrison designed to keep the Indians in subjection, who bear a mortal hatred, and are often apt to rebel against the Spaniards. But as being a place as it was, our fortune was much worse for we came only three days too late, or else we had met with three hundred weight of gold, which was

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carried thence to Panama in a bark, that is sent from thence twice or thrice every year, to fetch what gold is brought to Santa Maria from the mountains. This river, called by the name of the town, is hereabouts twice as broad as the river of Thames is at London, and floweth above threescore miles upwards, rising to the height of two fathom and a half at the town itself. As soon as we had taken the place, the Indians who belonged to our company, and had served us for guides, came up to the town; for while they heard the noise of the guns they were in a great consternation, and dared not approach the palisadoes, but hid themselves so well in a small hollow ground, that the bullets, while we were fighting, flew over their heads.

Here we found and redeemed the eldest daughter of the king of Darien, of whom we made mention above; she had, as it should seem, been forced away from her father's house by one of the garrison (which rape had greatly incensed him against the Spaniards) and was with child by him. After the fight, the Indians destroyed as many more of the Spaniards, as we had done in the assault; by taking them into the adjoining woods, and there stabbing them to death with their lances: but as soon as we understood this their barbarous cruelty, we hindered them from taking any more out of the fort, where we confined them all prisoners. Captain Sawkins, with a small party of ten more, put himself into a canoe, and went down the river to pursue and stop, if it were possible, those that had escaped, who were the chief of the town and garrison. But now our great expectations of making a huge purchase of gold at this place being totally vanished, we were unwilling to come so far for nothing, or go back empty handed; especially considering what vast riches were to be had at no great distance from thence. Hereupon we resolved to go for Panama,



which place if we could take, we were assured we should get treasure enough to satisfy our hungry appetite of gold and riches, that city being the receptacle of all the plate, jewels, and gold that is digged out of the mines of all Potosi and Peru. In order to it therefore, and to please the humours of some of our company, we made choice of captain Coxon to be our general commander in chief. Before our departure we sent back what small booty we had taken here by some prisoners, and these under the charge of twelve of our men, to convey it to the ships.

Thus we prepared to go forward on that dangerous enterprize of Panama. But the Indians who had conducted us, having gotten from us what knives, scissars, axes, needles, and beads they could obtain, would not stay any longer, but all, or the greatest part of them, returned to their home. Notwithstanding which, the king himself, captain Andreas, captain Antonio, the king's son, called by the Spaniards Bonete d'Oro, or king Golden-cap, as also his kinsman, would not be persuaded by their falling off to leave us, but resolved to go to Panama, out of the desire they had to see that place taken and sacked. Nay, the king promised, if there should be occasion, to join us with a very great number of men. Besides which promises, we had also another very considerable encouragement to undertake this journey; for the Spaniard who had forced away the king's daughter, as was mentioned above, fearing lest we should leave him to the mercy of the Indians, who would have had but little on him, having shewed themselves so cruel unto the rest of his companions, for the safety of his life, had promised to lead us not only into the town, but even to the very door of the governor of Panama's bedchamber, and that we should take him by the hand, and seize both him

him and covered arrival.

*The Buccaneers proceed to the voyage*

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him and the whole city, before we should be discovered by the Spaniards, either before or after our arrival.

CHAP. IV.

*The Bucaniers leave the town of Santa Maria, and proceed by sea to take Panama. The extreme difficulties, with sundry accidents and dangers of that voyage.*

HAVING been in possession of the town of Santa Maria only the space of two days, we departed from thence on Saturday, April 17, 1680. We embarked all in thirty-five canoes and a periaugue which we had taken here lying at anchor before the town. Thus we sailed, or rather rowed down the river, in quest of the South-sea, upon which Panama is seated towards the gulf of Belona, where we were to enter that ocean. Our prisoners, the Spaniards, begged very earnestly they might be permitted to go with us, and not to be left abandoned to the mercy of the Indians, who would shew them no favour, and whose cruelty they so much feared. But we had much ado to find a sufficient number of boats for ourselves, the Indians that left us having taking with them, either by consent or stealth, so many canoes. Yet notwithstanding they soon after either found bark-logs, or old canoes, and by that means shifted so well for their lives, as to come along with us. Before our departure we burnt both the fort, the church, and the town, which was done at the request of the king, he being extremely incensed against it.

Among these canoes it was my misfortune to have one that was very heavy, and consequently sluggish,

By this means we were left behind the rest a little way, our number being only four men, besides myself, that were embarked therein. As the tide fell, it left several shoals of sand naked; and hence, not knowing the true channel amongst such variety of streams, we happened to steer within a shoal above two miles before we perceived our error. Hereupon we were forced to lie by till high-water; for to row in such heavy boats as those against tide is a thing totally impossible. As soon as the tide began to turn, we rowed away in prosecution of our voyage, and withal made what haste we could; but all our endeavours were in vain, for we neither could find nor overtake our companions. Thus about ten of the clock at night, it being low water, we stuck up an oar in the river, and slept by turns in our canoe, several showers of rain falling all night long, with which they were wet to the skin.

But the next morning, as soon as day appeared, we rowed away down the river as before in pursuit of our people. Having rowed about two leagues we were so fortunate as to overtake them; for they had lain that night at an Indian hut, or embarcadero, that is to say, landing-place, and had been filling of water till then in the morning. Being arrived at the place, they told us, that we must not omit to fill our jars there with water; otherwise we should meet with none in the space of six days time. Hereupon we went every one of us the distance of a quarter of a mile from the embarcadero unto a little pond, to fill our water in calabazas, making withal what haste we could back to our canoe. But when we returned, we found not one of our men, they all being departed and already got out of sight. Such is the procedure of these wild men, that they care not in the least whom they lose of their company, or leave behind. We were now more troubled in our minds than before,

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fearing lest we should fall into the same misfortune we had so lately overcome.

Hereupon we rowed after them as fast as we possibly could, but all in vain; for here we found such huge numbers of islands, greater and lesser, as also keys about the mouth of the river, that it was not difficult for us, who were unacquainted with the river, to lose ourselves a second time amongst them. Yet notwithstanding, though with much trouble and toil, we found at last that mouth of the river that is called by the Spaniards Bocca Chica, or the little mouth. But as it happened, it was now young flood and the stream ran very violently against us; so that though we were not above a stone's cast from the said mouth, and this was not a league broad, yet we could not by any means come near it. Hence we were forced to put ashore, which we did accordingly till the time of high-water. We haled our canoe close by the bushes, and when we got out, we fastened our rope to a tree, which the tide had almost covered; for it flows here near four fathom deep.

As soon as tide began to turn, we rowed away from thence to an island, distant about a league and a half from the mouth of the river, in the gulf of San Miguel. Here it went very hard with us, whenever any wave dashed against the sides of our canoe; for it was almost twenty feet long, and yet not quite one foot and a half in breadth where it was at the broadest; so that we had just room enough to sit down in her, and a little water would easily have both filled and overwhelmed us. At the island aforesaid, we took up our resting place for that night, though for the loss of our company, and the great dangers we were in, the sorrowfullest night that until then I ever experimented in my life: for it rained imperuoussly all night long, insonmuch that we were wet from head

to foot, and had not one dry thread about us; neither through the violence of the rain, were able to keep any fire, wherewith to warm or dry us. The tide ebbed here a good half mile from the mark of high-water, and leaveth bare wonderful high and sharp-pointed rocks. We passed this heavy and tedious night without one minute of sleep, being all very sorrowful to see ourselves so remote from the rest of our companions, as also totally destitute of all human comfort for a vast sea surrounded us on one side, and the mighty power of our enemies the Spaniards on the other; neither could we descry at any hand the least thing to relieve us, all that we could see being the wide sea, high mountains, and rocks; meanwhile ourselves were confined to an egg-shell instead of a boat, without so much as a few clothes to defend us from the injuries of the weather; for at that time none of us had a shoe to our feet. We searched the whole key, to see if we could find any water, but found none.

## C H A P. V.

*Shipwreck of Mr. Ringrose the author of this narrative. He is taken by the Spaniards, and miraculously by them preserved. Several other accidents and other disasters which beset him after the loss of his companions, till he found them again. Description of the gulf of Vallona.*

ON Monday, April the 19th, at break of day, we haled our canoe into the water again and departing from the island aforementioned, wet and cold as we were, we rowed towards the punta de San Lorenzo or point St. Lawrence. In our way we met with several islands, which lie straggling thereabouts.

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But now we were so hard put to it by the smallness of our vessel, and being in an open sea, that it was become the work of one man, yea sometimes of two, to cast out the water which came in on all sides of our canoe. After struggling for some while with these difficulties, as we came near one of those islands, a sea came and overturned our boat, by which means we were all forced to swim for our lives; but we soon got to shore, and our canoe came tumbling after us. Our arms were fast lashed to the inside of the boat, and our locks as well cased and waxed down, as was possible; so were also our cartouch-boxes, and powder-horns; but all our bread and fresh water was utterly spoiled and lost.

Our canoe being tumbled on shore by the force of the waves, our first business was to take out and clean our arms. This we had scarcely done, but we saw another canoe run the same misfortune at a little distance to leeward of us amongst a great number of rocks that bounded the island. The persons that were cast away proved to be six Spaniards of the garrison of Santa Maria, who had found an old canoe, and had followed us to escape the cruelty of the Indians. They presently came to us, and made us a fire, on which we broiled our meat, and eat it amicably together. But we were in great want of water, or any other drink to our victuals, not knowing in the least where to get any. Our canoe was thrown up by the waves to the edge of the water, and there was no great fear of its splitting, as being full six inches on the sides thereof. But that in which the Spaniards came, split itself against the rocks, as being old and slender, into a hundred pieces. Though we were thus shipwrecked and driven ashore, as I have related, yet at other times this gulf of San Miguel is a mere mill-pond for smoothness of water.



My company was altogether for returning, and to proceed no farther, but rather for living amongst the Indians, in case they could not reach the ships we had left behind us in the Northern-sea. But with much ado I prevailed with them to go forward, at least one day longer, and in case we found not our people the next day, that then I would be willing to do any thing which they should think fit. Thus we spent two or three hours of the day in consulting about our affairs, and withal keeping a man to watch and look out on all sides for fear of any surprizal by the Indians, or other enemies. About the time that we were come to a conclusion in our debates, our watchman by chance spied an Indian, who, as soon as he saw us, ran into the woods. I sent immediately two of my company after him, who overtook him, and found him to be one of our friendly Indians. He carried them to a place not far distant from thence, where seven more of his company were, with a great canoe which they had brought with them. They came to the place where I was with the rest of my company, and seemed to be glad to meet us on that island. I asked them by signs for the main body of our company, and they gave me to understand, that in case we would go with them in their canoe, which was much bigger than ours, we should be up with the party by next morning. This news, as may easily be supposed, not a little rejoiced our hearts.

Presently after this friendly invitation, they asked who the other six men were whom they saw in our company, for they easily perceived us not to be all of one and the same coat and lingua. We told them they were wankers, which is the name they commonly give to the Spaniards. Their next question was, if they should kill them. But I answered them, no, by no means, I would not consent to have it done. With which answer they seemed to be satisfied for that

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the present. But a little while after, my back being turned, my company thinking they should oblige the Indians thereby, beckoned to them to kill the Spaniards. With this, the poor creatures perceiving the danger that threatened them, made a sad shriek and outcry, and I came time enough to save all their lives; but withal, I was forced to give my consent they should have one of them to make him their slave. Hereupon I gave the canoe that I came in to the five Spaniards remaining, and bid them get away and shift for their lives, lest those cruel Indians should not keep their word, and they run again the same danger they had so lately escaped. Having sent them away, I rested myself awhile, and took a survey of this gulf, and the mouth of the river.

But now, thanks be to God, joining company with those Indians we were got into a very large canoe, the which, for its bigness, was better able to carry twenty men, than our own that we had brought to carry five. The Indians had also fitted a good sail to the said canoe; so that having now a fresh strong gale of wind, we set sail from thence, and made therewith brave way, to the infinite joy and comfort of our hearts, seeing ourselves so well accommodated, and so happily rid of the miseries we but lately had endured. We had now a smooth and easy passage, after such tedious and laborious pains as we had sustained in coming so far since we left Santa Maria. Under the point of St. Lawrence mentioned above, is a very great rippling of the sea, occasioned by a strong current which runneth hereabouts, and which oftentimes almost filled our boat with its dashes, as we sailed. This evening, after our departure from the island where we were cast away, it rained vehemently for several hours, and the night proved to be very dark. About nine of the clock that night we descried two fires on the shore of the continent over-against us. These fires were no  
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sooner perceived by the Indians of our canoe, but they began to shout for joy, and cry out, captain Antonio, captain Andr  as, the names of their Indian captains and leaders; and to affirm, they were assured those fires were made by their companions. Hence they made for the shore towards those fires as fast as they could drive; but as soon as our canoe came amongst the breakers, nigh the shore, out came from the woods above threescore Spaniards, with clubs and other arms; and laying hold on our canoe on both sides thereof, haled it out of the water quite dry; so that by this means we were all suddenly taken and made their prisoners. I laid hold of my gun, thinking to make some defence for myself; but all was in vain, for they soon seized me between four or five of them, and hindered me from action. In the meanwhile our Indians leaped over-board, and got away very nimbly into the woods. My companion standing amazed at what had happened, and the manner of our surprisal, I asked them presently if any of them could speak either French or English. But they answered, no. Hereupon, as well as I could, I discoursed to some of them, who were more intelligent than the rest, in Latin, and by degrees came to understand their condition. These were Spaniards who had been turned here ashore by our English party, who left them upon this coast, lest by carrying them nearer to Panama, any of them should make their escape, and discover our march towards the city. They had me presently after I was taken into a small hut which they had built, covered with boughs, and made there great shouts for joy, because they had taken us; designing in their minds to use us very severely for coming into those parts, and especially for taking and plundering their town of Santa Maria. But mean while the captain of those Spaniards was examining me, in came the poor Spaniard that was

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come along with us, and reported how kind I had been to him and the rest of his companions, by saving their lives from the cruelty of the Indians.

The captain having heard him, arose from his seat immediately and embraced me; saying, that we Englishmen were very friendly enemies, and good people, but that the Indians were very rogues, and a treacherous nation. Withal, he desired me to sit down by him, and to eat part of such victuals as our companions had left them when they were turned ashore. Then he told me, that for the kindness I had shewed unto his countrymen, he gave us all our lives and liberties, which otherwise he would certainly have taken from us. And though he could scarcely be persuaded in his mind to spare the Indians lives, yet for my sake he did pardon them all, and I should have them with me, in case I could find them. Thus he bid me likewise take my canoe, and go in God's name; saying withal, he wished us as fortunate as we were generous. Hereupon I took my leave of him. I searched out, and at last found my Indians, who for fear had hid themselves in the bushes adjoining to the neighbouring woods, where they lay concealed. Having found them, the captain led me very civilly down to the canoe, and bidding my companions and the Indians get in after me, as they at first haled us ashore, so now again they pushed us off to sea by a sudden and strange vicissitude of fortune.

All that night it rained very hard, as was mentioned above; neither durst we put any more ashore at any place, being all along such as by mariners is commonly called an iron coast.

The next morning being come, we sailed and paddled, or rowed, till about ten of the clock; at which time we espied a canoe making towards us with all speed imaginable. Being come up with us,  
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and in view, it proved to be one of our English company, who mistaking our canoe for a Spanish periaugue, was coming in all haste to attack us. We were infinitely glad to meet them, and they presently conducted us to the rest of our company, who were at that instant coming from a deep bay, which lay behind a high point of rocks, where they had lain at anchor all that night and morning. We were all mutually rejoiced to see one another again, they having given both me and my companions for lost.

## C H A P. VI.

*The Buccaneers prosecute their voyage till they come within sight of Panama. They take several barks and prisoners by the way. Are descried by the Spaniards before their arrival. They order the Indians to kill the prisoners.*

FROM the place where we rejoined our English forces, we all made our way towards a high hammock of land, as it appeared at a distance, but was nothing else than an island seven leagues distant from the bay aforementioned. On the highest part of this island the Spaniards keep a watch, or look-out (for so it is termed by the seamen) for fear of pirates, or other enemies. That evening we arrived at the island, and being landed, went up a very steep place, till we came to a little hut where the watchmen lodged. We took by surprizal the old man who watched in the place, but happened not to see us, till we were got into his plantane-walk before the lodge. He told us in his examination, that we were not as yet descried by the Spaniards of Panama, or any others that he knew; which relation of the old man much encouraged us to go forwards with our design

of



of surprizing that rich city. This place, if I took its name right, is called *Farol de Plantanos*, or in English *Plantane-watch*.

Here, a little before night, a certain bark came to anchor at the outside of the island, which was instantly descried by us. Hereupon we speedily manned our two canoes, who went under the shore and surprized the said boat. Having examined the persons that were on board, we found she had been absent the space of eight days from Panama, and had landed soldiers at a point of land not far distant from this island, with intention to fight and curb certain Indians and negroes who had done much hurt in the country thereabouts. The bark being taken, most of our men endeavoured to get into her, but more especially those who had the lesser canoes. Thus there embarked thereon to the number of one hundred and thirty-seven of our company, together with that skilful and valiant commander, captain Bartholomew Sharp; with him went also on board captain Cook, whom we mentioned at the beginning of this history. The remaining part of that night we lay at the bay of the said island, with intent to prosecute our voyage the next day.

Morning being come, I changed my canoe and embarked myself in another, which, though it was something lesser than the former, yet was furnished with better company. Departing from this island, we rowed all day long over shoal water, at the distance of about a league from land, having sometimes not above four or five feet water, and white ground: in the afternoon we desorded a bark at sea, and instantly gave her chase: but the canoe in which was captain Harris happened to come up the first with her, who after a sharp dispute took her. Being taken, we put on board the said bark thirty men; but the wind would not suffer the other bark in chasing to come up

up with us. This pursuit of the vessel did so far hinder us in our voyage, and divide us asunder, that night coming on presently after, we lost one another, and could no longer keep in a body together: hereupon we laid our canoe ashore, to take up our rest for that night, at the distance of two miles, or thereabouts, from high water mark, and about for leagues to leeward of the island Chepillo, to which place our course was then directed.

The next morning, as soon as the water began to float us, we rowed away for the forementioned island Chepillo, where by assignation our general rendezvous was to be: in our way we espied a bark under sail, as we had done the day before: captain Coxon's canoe was the first that came up with her; but a small breeze freshening at that instant, she got away from him after the first onset, killing in the said canoe one Mr. Bull, and wounding two others. We presently conjectured that this bark would get before us to Panama, and give intelligence of our coming to those of the town, all which happened accordingly. It was two of the clock that afternoon before all our canoes could come together, and join one another, as was agreed on at Chepillo. We took at that island fourteen prisoners, between negroes and mulattos; also a great store of plantanes, and good water, together with two fat hogs. But now, believing that ere this we had been descried at Panama by the bark aforementioned, we resolved among ourselves to waste no time, but to hasten away from the said island, to the intent we might at least be able to surprise and take their shipping, and by that means make ourselves masters of those seas, in case we could not get the town, which we now judged almost impossible to be done. At Chepillo we took also a periaugue which we found at anchor before the island, and presently we put some men on board her: we staid  
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here only a few hours; so that about four o'clock in the evening we rowed away from thence, designing to reach Panama before the next morning; it being only seven leagues between that city and Chepillo: but before we departed from Chepillo, it was judged convenient by our commanders, for certain reasons, which I could not dive into, to rid their hands of the prisoners which we had taken; and hereupon orders were given to our Indians, who they knew would perform them very willingly, to fight or rather to murder and slay the said prisoners upon the shore, and that in the view of the whole fleet. This they instantly went about, being glad of this opportunity to revenge themselves upon their enemies, though in cold blood: but the prisoners, although they had no arms wherewith to defend themselves, forced their way through those barbarous Indians, in spite of their lances, bows, and arrows, and got into the woods of the island; only one man of them being killed. We rowed all night long, though much rain fell.

C H A P. VII.

*They arrive within sight of Panama, are encountered by three small men of war: they fight them with only sixty-eight men, and utterly defeat them, taking two of the said vessels. Description of that bloody fight. They take several ships at the isle of Perico before Panama.*

THE next morning, which was April 23, 1680. that day being dedicated to St. George, our patron of England, we came before sun-rise within view of the city of Panama, which makes a very pleasant prospect to the sea-ward: soon after we saw also the ships belonging to the said city, which lay at anchor  
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at an island called Perico, distant only two leagues from Panama. On the aforesaid island are several store-houses built there to receive the goods delivered out of the ships: at that time there lay at anchor at Perico five great ships, and three pretty big barks, called *barcos de la armadilla*, or little men of war; the word *armadilla* signifying a little fleet. These had been suddenly manned out with design to fight us, and prevent any farther attempts we should make upon the city, or coasts of those seas. As soon as they espied us, they instantly weighed anchor, and got under sail, coming directly to meet us. Our two periaugues being heavy, could not row so fast as we that were in the canoes, so that we were got a pretty way before them: in our five canoes (for so many we were in company) we had only thirty-six men, and these but in a very unfit condition to fight, as being tired with so much rowing, and so few in number, in comparison of the enemy that came against us. They sailed towards us directly before the wind, insomuch that we feared lest they should run us down before it: hereupon we rowed up into the wind's eye, as the seamen term it, and got close to the windward of them. Meanwhile we were doing this, our lesser periaugue came up with us, in which were thirty-two more of our company; so that we were in all sixty-eight men that were engaged in the fight of that day; the king himself being one of our number, who was in the periaugue aforementioned. In the vessel that was admiral of these three men of war, were fourscoure and six Biscaniers, who have the repoute of being the best marinors, and also the best soldiers amongst the Spaniards. These were all volunteers, who came designedly to shew their valour, under the command of don Jacinto de Barabona, who was high admiral of those seas. In the second were seventy-seven negroes, who were commanded by

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by an old and stout Spaniard, a native of Andalusia in Spain, named don Francisco de Peralta. In the third and last were sixty-five mestizos, or mulattos or sawny-moors, commanded by don Diego de Carabaxal: so that they were in all two hundred and twenty-eight. The commanders had strict orders given them, and their resolutions were to give quarters to none of the pirates or bucaniers: but such bloody commands seldom prosper.

Captain Sawkins's canoe, and also that wherein I was, were much to leeward of the rest; so that the ship of don Diego de Carabaxal came between us two, and fired presently on me to windward, and on him to leeward, wounding with these broadsides four men in his canoe, and one in that I was in: but he paid so dear for his passage between us, that he was not quick in coming about again, and making the same way; for we killed with our first volley, several of his men upon the decks: thus we got also to windward, as the rest were before. The admiral of the armadilla, or little fleet, came up with us instantly, scarce giving us time to charge, thinking to pass by us all with as little damage as the first of his ships had done: but as it happened, it fell out much worse with him, for we were so fortunate as to kill the man at the helm; so that his ship ran into the wind, and her sails lay a-back. By this means we had time to come all up under her stern, and firing continually into his vessel, we killed all that came to the helm; besides which slaughter, we cut asunder his main sheet and brace with our shot. Now also the third vessel, in which captain Peralta was, was coming to the aid of their general; hereupon captain Sawkins, who had changed his canoe, and was gone into the periaugue, left the admiral to us four canoes. (for his own was quite disabled) and met the said Peralta: between him and captain Sawkins the dispute was very hot, lying



lying aboard each other, and both giving and receiving death as fast as they could charge. While we were thus engaged, the first ship tacked about, and came up to relieve the admiral; but we perceiving it, and foreseeing how hard it would go with us, we should be beaten from the admiral's stern, determined to prevent his design: hereupon two of our canoes, to wit, captain Springer's and my own, stood off to meet him: he made up directly towards the admiral, who stood upon the quarter-deck, waving unto him with a handkerchief so to do; but we engaged him so closely in the middle of his way, that had he not given us the helm, and made away from us, we had certainly been on board him: we killed so many of the men, that the vessel had scarce men enough left alive, or unwounded, to carry her off; yet the wind now blowing fresh, they made shift to get away from us, and save their lives.

The vessel which was to relieve the admiral being thus put to flight, we came about again upon the admiral, and all together gave a loud halloo, which was answered by our men in the periaugue, though at a distance from us. At that time we came so close under the stern of the admiral, that we wedged up the rudder; and withal killed both the admiral himself and the chief pilot of his ship; so that now they were almost quite disabled and disheartened likewise, seeing what a bloody massacre we had made among them with our shot. Hereupon, two thirds of his men being killed, and many others wounded, they cried for quarter, which had several times been offered them, and as stoutly denied till then. Captain Coxon boarded the admiral, and took with him captain Harris, who had been shot through both his legs as he boldly adventured up along the side of the ship. This vessel being thus taken, we put on board

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board her all our wounded men, and instantly manned two of our canoes to go and aid captain Sawkins, who now had been three times beaten from on board Peralta, such valiant defence had he made: and indeed, to give our enemies their due, no men in the world did ever act more bravely than these Spaniards.

Thus coming up close under Peralta's side, we gave him a full volley of shot, and expected to have the like return from him again; but on a sudden we saw his men blown up that were abaft the mast, some of them falling on the deck, and others into the sea. This disaster was soon perceived by their valiant captain Peralta; but he leaped overboard, and, in spite of all our shot, got several of them into the ship again, though he was much burnt in both his hands himself. But as one misfortune seldom cometh alone, meanwhile he was recovering these men, to reinforce his ship withall, and renew the fight, another jar of powder took fire forward, and blew up several others upon the forecastle. Among this smoak, and under the opportunity thereof, captain Sawkins laid them on board, and took the ship. Soon after they were taken, I went on board captain Peralta, to see what condition they were in; and indeed such a miserable sight I never saw in my life; for there was not a man, but was either killed, desperately wounded, or horribly burnt with powder; insomuch, that their black skins were turned white in several places, the powder having torn it from their flesh and bones. Having compassionated their misery, I went afterwards on board the admiral, to observe likewise the condition of his ship and men: here I saw what did astonish me, and will scarcely be believed by any, but ourselves who saw it: there we refound on board this ship but twenty-five men alive, whose number before the fight had been fourscore and

and six, as was said above; so that threescore and one, out of so small a number, were destroyed in the battle: but, what is more, of these twenty-five men, only eight of them were able to bear arms, all the rest being desperately wounded, and by their wounds totally disabled to make any resistance, or defend themselves. Their blood ran down the deck in whole streams, and scarce one place in the ship was found that was free from blood.

Having possessed ourselves of these two armadillo vessels, or little men of war, captain Sawkins asked the prisoners, how many men there might be on board the greatest ship that we could see from thence lying in the harbour of the island of Perico above mentioned; as also in the others that were something smaller. Captain Peralta hearing these questions, dissuaded him as much as he could from attempting them; saying, that in the biggest alone there were three hundred and fifty men, and that he would find the rest too well provided for defence against his small number. But one of his men, who lay dying upon deck, contradicted him as he was speaking, and told captain Sawkins, there was not one man on board any of those ships that were in view; for they had all been taken out of them to fight us, in these three vessels called the armadillo or little fleet. Unto this relation we gave credit, and proceeding from a dying man; and steering our course to the island, we went on board them, and found as he had said, not one person there. The biggest of these ships, which was called *La Santissima Trinidad*, or the Blessed Trinity, they had set on fire, made a hole in her, and loosened her fore-sail. But we quenched the fire with all speed, and stopped the leak. This being done, we put our wounded men on board her, and made her for the present our hospital.

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Having surveyed our own loss, we found eighteen of our men were killed in the fight, and twenty-two wounded. These three captains against whom we fought were esteemed by the Spaniards the valiantest in all the South-seas: neither was their reputation undeserved, as may easily be inferred from the relation we have given of this bloody engagement. As the third ship was running away from the fight, she met with two more coming out to their assistance; but withal, gave them so little encouragement, that they returned back, and dared not engage us. We began the fight about half an hour after sun-rise, and by noon had finished the battle, and quite overcome them. Captain Peralta, while he was our prisoner, would often break out into admirations of our valour, and say, 'Surely, we Englishmen were the vallantest men in the whole world, who designed always to fight open, whilst all other nations invented all the ways imaginable to barricade themselves, and fight as close as they could.' And yet notwithstanding, we killed more of our enemies than they of us.

Two days after our engagement, we buried captain Peter Harris, a brave and stout souldier, and a valiant Englishman, born in the county of Kent, whose death we very much lamented: he died of the wounds he received in battle; and besides him only one man; all the rest of our wounded men recovered. Being now come before Panama, I enquired of Don Francisco de Peralta, our prisoner, many things concerning the state and condition of this city, and the neighbouring country; and he satisfied me in manner following.



## C H A P. VIII.

*Description of the state and condition of Panama, and the parts adjacent. What vessels they took while they blocked up the said port. Captain Coxon with seventy more returns home. Sawkins is chosen in chief.*

**T**HE famous city of Panama is situate in the latitude of nine degrees north. It stands in a deep bay, in the South-sea. It is round in form, excepting only that part where it runs along the sea-side. Formerly it stood four miles more easterly, when it was taken by sir Henry Morgan ; but being then burnt, and three times more since that accident, they removed it to the place where it now stands. Notwithstanding there are some poor people still inhabiting the old town ; and the cathedral church is still there, which makes a fair shew at a distance, not unlike that of St. Paul's at London. This new city of which I now speak, is much bigger than the old one was, and is built for the most part of brick, the rest being built of stone and tiled. As for the churches belonging thereto, they are not as yet finished ; they are eight in number, the chief whereof is called Santa Maria. This city is better than a mile and a half in length, and above a mile in breadth : the houses for the most part are three stories high. It hath two gates belonging to it, and is well walled round, except only where a creek cometh into the city, which at high-water letteth in barks, to furnish the inhabitants with all sorts of provisions and other necessities. Here are always three hundred of the king's soldiers in garrison ; besides which number, their militia of all colours are 1100. But when we arrived there, most of their soldiers were out of town ;

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infomuch that our coming put the rest into great consternation, they having had but one night's notice of our being in those seas. Hence we were induced to believe, that had we gone ashore instead of fighting their ships, we had certainly rendered ourselves masters of the place; especially considering that all their chief men were on board the admiral; I mean such as were undoubtedly the best soldiers. Round about the city, for the space of seven leagues, or thereabouts, all the adjacent country is Savanna, as they call it in the Spanish language, that is to say plain and level ground, as smooth as a sheet; only here and there is to be seen a small spot of woody land. This level ground is full of Vacadas, or Beef Stations, where whole droves of cows and oxen are kept, which serve as so many look-outs, or watch-towers, to descry if an enemy is approaching by land. The ground whereon the city now stands, is very damp and moist, which renders the place unhealthful. The water is also full of worms, which are very prejudicial to shipping; and this is the cause that the king's ships lie always at Lima, the capital of Peru, unless when they come down to Panama to bring the king's plate; which is only at such times as the fleet of galleons come from Old Spain to fetch and convoy it thither. Here, in one hour after our arrival, we found worms of three quarters of an inch in length, both in our bed-clothes and other apparel.

At the islands of Perico above-mentioned, we seized in all five ships: of these, the first and biggest was named, as was said before, the *Trinidad*, and was a great ship, of the burden of 400 tons: her lading consisting of wine, sugar, sweetmeats (whereof the Spaniards in those hot countries make infinite use) skins, and soap. The second ship was about 300 tons burden, and not above half laden with bars of iron, which is one of the richest commodi-

ties that are brought into the South-Sea. This vessel we burned with the lading in her, because the Spaniards pretended not to want that commodity, and therefore would not redeem it. The third was laden with sugar, being of the burden of 180 tons, or thereabouts. This vessel was given to captain Cook. The fourth was an old ship of 60 tons, laden with flour or meal. This ship we likewise burnt with her lading, esteeming both bottom and cargo at that time to be useless to us. The fifth was a ship of 50 tons, which, with a periaugue, captain Coxon took along with him when he left us.

Within two or three days after our arrival at Panama, captain Coxon being much dissatisfied with some reflections cast upon him by our company, determined to leave us, and return back to our ships in the northern seas, by the same way he came; and persuaded several of our company, who sided most with him, and had had the chief hand in his election, to fall off from us, and bear him company in his journey, or march over land. The main cause of those reflections was his backwardness in the last engagement with the Armadilla; concerning which point some stuck not to brand him for a coward. He drew off with him to the number of 70 of our men, who all returned back with him in the ship and periaugue above-mentioned, towards the mouth of the river of Santa Maria. In his company went also back the Indian king, captain Antonio, and don Andræas, who, being old, desired to be excused from staying any longer with us. However, the king desired we would not be less vigorous in annoying their enemy and ours, the Spaniards, than if he were personally present with us. And to the intent we might see how faithfully he did intend to deal with us, he at the same time recommended both his son and nephew to the care of captain Sawkins,

kins, who was now our newly chosen general, or commander in chief, in the absence of captain Sharp. The two Armadilla ships, which we took in the engagement, we burnt also, saving nothing of either of them, but their rigging and sails. With them also we burnt a bark that came into the port laden with fowls and poultry.

On Sunday, April the 25th, captain Sharp with his bark and company came in and joined us again. His absence was occasioned by want of water, which forced him to bear up to the king's islands. Being there, he found a new bark, which he presently took, and burnt his old one. This vessel sailed excellently well. Within a day or two after the arrival of captain Sharp, came in likewise the people of captain Harris. These had also taken another bark, and cut down the masts of their old one by the board; and thus without masts or sails turned away the prisoners they had taken in her. The next day we took another bark, that came from Nata, being laden with fowls as before. In this bark we turned away all the meanest prisoners we had on board us.

Having continued before Panama for the space of ten days, being employed in the affairs before-mentioned, on May the 2d, we weighed from the island of Perico, and stood off to another island, distant two leagues farther from thence, called Tavoga. On this island stands a town which bears the same name, and consists of a hundred houses, or thereabouts. The people of the town were all fled, seeing our vessels arrive. While we were here, some of our men being drunk ashore, happened to set fire to one of the houses, the which consumed twelve houses more before any could get ashore to quench it. To this island came several Spanish merchants from Panama, and sold us what commodities we

needed, buying also of us much of the goods we had taken in their own vessels: they gave us likewise 200 pieces of eight for each negro we could spare them, of such as were our prisoners. From this island we could easily see all the vessels that went out, or came into the port of Panama; and here we took likewise several barks that were laden with fowls.

Eight days after our arrival at Tavoga, we took a ship that was coming from Truxillo, and bound for Panama. In this vessel we found 2000 jars of wine, 50 jars of gunpowder, and 51,000 pieces of eight. This money had been sent from that city to pay the foldiers belonging to the garrison of Panama. From the said prize we had information given that there was another ship coming from Lima with 100,000 pieces of eight more; which ship was to sail ten or twelve days after them, and which they said could not be long before she arrived at Panama. Within two days after this intelligence we took also another ship laden with flour from Truxillo, belonging to certain Indians, inhabitants of the same place, or thereabouts. This prize confirmed what the first had told us of that rich ship, and said, as the others had done before, that she would be there in the space of eight or ten days.

While we lay at Tavoga, the president, or governor of Panama, sent a message by some merchants to us, to know what we came for into those parts? To this message captain Sawkins made answer, "That we came to assist the king of Darien, who was the true lord of Panama, and all the country thereabouts: and that since we were come so far, it was no reason but that we should have some satisfaction. So that if he pleased to send us 500 pieces of eight for each man, and one thousand for each commander, and not any farther to annoy the Indians, but suffer them to use their

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"own power and liberty, as became the true and  
 "natural lords of the country, that then we would  
 "desist from farther hostilities, and go away peace-  
 "ably; otherwise that we should stay there, and  
 "get what we could, causing them what damage  
 "was possible." By the merchants also that went  
 and came to Panama, we understood there lived  
 then as bishop of Panama, one who had formerly  
 been bishop of Santa Martha, and who was prisoner  
 to captain Sawkins, when he took the said place  
 about four or five years past. The captain having  
 received this intelligence, sent two loaves of sugar  
 to the bishop as a present. The next day the mer-  
 chant who carried them, returning to Tavoga,  
 brought the captain a gold ring for a retaliation of  
 his said present. And withal, he brought a mes-  
 sage to captain Sawkins from the president above-  
 mentioned, to know farther of him, since we were  
 Englishmen, "From whom we had our commission,  
 "and to whom he ought to complain for the da-  
 "mages we had already done them?" To this  
 message captain Sawkins sent back for an answer,  
 "That as yet all his company were not come to-  
 "gether; but that when they were come up, we  
 "would come and visit him at Panama, and bring  
 "our commissions on the muzzles of our guns, at  
 "which time he should read them as plain as the  
 "flame of gunpowder could make them."

At this island of Tavoga, captain Sawkins would  
 fain have staid longer to wait for the rich ship above-  
 mentioned that was coming from Peru; but our  
 men were so importunate for fresh victuals, that no  
 reason could rule them, nor their own interest per-  
 suade them to any thing that might conduce to this  
 purpose. Hereupon, May the 15th, we weighed  
 anchor, and sailed from thence to the island of



Otoque. Being arrived there, we lay by it, while our boat went ashore, and fetched off fowls, hogs, and other things necessary for sustenance. Here I finished a draught, comprehending from point Garachine, to the bay of Panama, &c.

From Otoque we sailed to the island of Cayboa, which is a place very famous for the fishery of pearl thereabouts, and is at the distance of eight leagues from another place called Puebla Nueva, on the Main. In our way to this island we lost two of our barks, one whereof had fifteen men in her, and the other seven. Being arrived, we cast anchor at the said island.

#### C H A P. IX.

*Captain Sawkins, chief commander of the Bucaniers, is killed before Puebla Nueva. They are repulsed from the place. Captain Sharp chosen to be their leader. Many more of their company leave them, and return home over land.*

**W**HILE we lay at anchor before Cayboa, our two chief commanders captain Sawkins and captain Sharp, taking with them 60 men or thereabouts, went in captain Cook's ship to the mouth of the river, where Puebla Nueva is situated. The day of this action, as I find it quoted in my journal, was May 22d, 1680. When they came to the river's mouth, they put themselves into canoes, and were pilotted up the river towards the town by a negro, who was one of our prisoners. I was chosen to be concerned in this action, but happened not to land, being commanded to remain in captain Cook's ship,

ship, while they went up to assault the town. But here the inhabitants were too well provided for the reception of our party: for at the distance of a mile below the town, they had cut down great trees, and laid them cross the river, with design to hinder the coming up of any boats. In like manner, on shore before the town itself, they had raised three strong breast-works, and made other things for their defence. Here therefore captain Sawkins running up to the breast-works at the head of a few men, was killed: a man who was as valiant and courageous as any could be, and likewise, next to captain Sharp, the best beloved of all our company, or the most part thereof. Neither was this loss undeserved by him; for we ought justly to attribute to him the greatest honour we gained in our engagement before Panama with the Spanish Armadilla. Especially, considering that, as hath been said above, captain Sharp was by accident absent at the time of that great and bloody fight.

We that remained behind on board the ship of captain Cook, carried her within the mouth of the river Puebla Nueva, and entered close by the East shore, which is crowned with a round hill. Within two stone's cast of shore, we had four fathom water. Within the point opens a very fine and large river, which falls from a sandy bay, at a small distance from thence. But as we were getting in, being strangers to the place, we unwittingly ran our ship on ground near a rock which lies on the westward shore; for the true channel of the said river is nearer to the East than the West shore. With captain Sawkins, in the unfortunate assault of this place, there died two men more, and three were wounded in the retreat, which they performed to the canoes in pretty good order. In their way down the river, captain Sharp took a ship, whose lading consisted of

Indigo, otto, manteco, or butter and pitch; and likewise burnt two vessels more, as being of no value. With this he returned on board our ships, being much troubled in his mind, and grieved for the loss of so bold and brave a partner in his adventures, as Sawkins had constantly shewed himself to be. His death was much lamented, and occasioned another party of our own men to mutiny, and leave us, returning over land, as captain Coxon and his company had done before.

Three days after the death of captain Sawkins, captain Sharp, who was now commander in chief, gave the ship which he had taken in the river of Puebla Nueva, and which was of the burden of 100 tons, or thereabouts, to captain Cook to command and sail in; ordering withal, that the old vessel which he had, should go with those men that designed to leave us; their mutiny, and our distraction being now grown very high. Hereupon captain Sharp coming on board la Trinidad, the greatest of our ships, asked our men in full council, who of them were willing to go, or stay and prosecute the design captain Sawkins had undertaken, which was to remain in the South-sea, and there to make a complete voyage; after which he intended to go home round about America, through the Streights of Magellan. He added withal, that he did not as yet fear or doubt in the least, but to make each man who should stay with him, worth 1000 pounds, by the fruits he hoped to reap of that voyage. All those who had remained after the departure of captain Coxon, for love of captain Sawkins, and only to be in his company, and under his conduct, thinking thereby to make their fortunes, would stay no longer, but pressed to depart. Among this number I acknowledge myself to have been one, as being totally desirous in my mind to quit those hazardous adventures,

adventures, and return homewards in company of those who were now going to leave us; yet being much afraid and averse to trust myself among wild Indians any farther, I chose rather to stay, though unwillingly, and venture on that long and dangerous voyage. Besides the danger of which Indians, I considered that the rains were now already up, and it would be hard passing so many gullies, which of necessity would then be full of water, and consequently create more than one single peril to the undertakers of that journey; yet notwithstanding, 63 men of our company were resolved to encounter all these hardships, and to leave us. Hereupon they took their leave of us, and returned homewards, taking with them the Indian king's son, and the rest of the Indians for their guides over land. They had, as was said above, the ship wherein captain Cook sailed, to carry them: and out of our provision as much as would serve for treble their number.

On the last day of May they left us employed in taking in water and cutting down wood, at the island of Cayboa before-mentioned, where this mutiny happened. Here we caught very good tortoise, and red deer: we killed also alligators of a very large size, some of them being above twenty feet in length. But we could not find but that they were very fearful of a man, and would fly from us very hastily when we hunted them. This island lieth South-south-east from the mouth of the river above-mentioned. On the South-east side of the island is a shoal or spit of sand, which stretched itself the space of quarter of a league into the sea. Here therefore just within this shoal, we anchored in the depth of fourteen fathom water. The island on this side thereof maketh two great bays, in the first of which we watered, at a certain pond not distant above the east of a stone up from the bay. In this pond as I

was



was washing myself, and standing under a Manzanilla tree, a small shower of rain happened to fall on the tree, and from thence dropped on my skin: these drops caused me to break out all over my body into red spots of which I was not well for the space of a week after. Here I eat very large oysters, the biggest that ever I eat in my life; insomuch, that I was forced to cut them into four pieces, each quarter of them being a good mouthful.

Three days after the departure of the mutineers, captain Sharp ordered us to burn the ship that I had hitherto sailed in, only out of design to make use of the iron-work belonging to the said vessel. Withal we put all the flour that was her lading into the last prize taken in the river of Puebla Nueva; and captain Cook, as was said before, was ordered to command her; but the men belonging to his company would not sail any longer under his command. Hereupon he quitted his vessel, and came on board our admiral, the great ship above-mentioned, called *La Trinidad*, determining to rule over such unruly company no longer. In his place was put John Cox, an inhabitant of New England, who forced kindred, as was thought, on captain Sharp, out of old acquaintance, in this conjuncture of time, only to advance himself: thus he was made, as it were, vice-admiral to captain Sharp. The next day three of our prisoners, viz. an Indian, who was captain of a ship, and two mulattos, ran away from us, and made their escape.

After this it was thought convenient to send captain Peralta prisoner in the admiral, on board Mr. Cox's ship: this was done to the intent he might not hinder the endeavours of captain Juan, who was commander of the money ship we took, mentioned at the island of Tavoga; for this man had promised to do great things for us, by piloting and conducting

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ing us to several places of great riches; but more especially to Guayaquil, where, he said, we might lay down our silver, and lade our vessel with gold. This design was undertaken by captain Sawkins, and had not the headstrongness of his men brought him to the island of Cayboa, where he lost his life, he had certainly effected it before now. That night we had such thunder and lightnings, as I never heard before in all my life: our prisoners told us, that in these parts it very often caused great damages, both by sea and land; and my opinion gave me to believe, that our main-mast received some damage on this occasion. The rainy season being now entered, the wind for the most part was at N. W. though not without some calms.

C H A P. X.

*They depart from the island of Cayboa to the isle of Gorgona, where they careen their vessels. Description of this isle. They resolve to go and plunder Arica, leaving their design of Guayaquil.*

**H**AVING got in all things necessary for sailing, we were now in a readiness to depart, on Sunday June 6th, 1680. That day we had some rain fell, which now was very frequent in all those places. About five o'clock in the evening we set sail for the island of Cayboa, with a small breeze, the wind being at S. S. W. Our course was E. S. by E. and S. E. After sailing two days, with little or no wind, on the third, about sun-rising, we descried Quicara, which at that time bore N. W. by W. from us, at the distance of five leagues, or thereabouts.

These are two several islands, whereof the least is to the southward of the other. The land is a low

low table land; they are above three leagues in length.

Thursday, June 10th, we saw many tortoises floating upon the sea; hereupon we hoisted out our boat, and came to one of them, who offered not to stir until she was struck, and even then not to sink to the bottom, but rather to swim away: the sea hereabouts is very full of several sorts of fish, as dolphins, bonites, albigores, mullets, and old wives, &c. which came swimming about our ship in whole shoals. The next day, which was Friday, our Spanish prisoners informed us, we must not expect any settled wind until we came within the latitude of three degrees: for all along the western shore of these seas, there is little wind; which is the cause that those ships that go from Acapulco to the islands called de las Philippinas, do coast along the shore of California, until they get into the height of forty-five degrees; yea, sometimes of fifty degrees latitude. As the wind varied, so we tacked several times, thereby to make the best of our way that was possible to the southward.

As our prisoners had informed us, so we found it by experience: for sailing two days with small wind, and much rain, June 17th, about five in the morning we descried land, which appeared all along to be very low, and likewise full of creeks and bays; our pilot not knowing what land it was, we called Mr. Cox on board us, who brought captain Peralta with him; this gentleman being asked, presently told us, the land we saw was the land of Barbacoa, being almost a wild country all over: withal, he informed us, that to the leeward of us, at the distance of ten leagues, or thereabouts, did lie an island called by the name of Gorgona; the which island, he said, the Spaniards did shun, and very seldom came near it, by reason of the incessant and continual

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tinual rains there falling, scarce one day in the year being dry at that place. Captain Sharp having heard this information of captain Peralta, judged the said island might be the fittest place for our company to careen at; considering that if the Spaniards did not frequent it, we might in all probability lie there undescried, and our enemies the Spaniards, in the mean time, might think we were gone out of those seas. At this time it was, that I seriously repented my staying in the South-Seas, and that I did not return homewards in company of them that went before us: for I knew and could easily perceive that by these delays the Spaniards would gain time, and be able to send advice of our coming to every port all along the coast, so that we should be prevented in all, or most of our attempts and designs where-soever we came. But those of our company, who had got money by the former prizes of this voyage, overswayed the others who had lost all their booty at gaming. Thus we bore away for the island aforesaid of Gorgona.

On the main land over against this island of Gorgona, we were told by our prisoners, that up a great lake is an Indian town, where they have a large quantity of sand grains of gold: moreover, that five days sail up a river belonging to the said lake dwell four Spanish superintendants, who have each of them the charge of overseeing fifty or sixty Indians who are employed in gathering the gold which slip-peth from the chief collectors, or finders thereof: these are at least threescore and ten, or fourscore Spaniards, with a great number of slaves belonging to them, who dwell higher up than these four superintendants, at the distance of twenty-five or thirty days sailing on the said river. That once every year at a certain season, there comes a vessel from Lima, the capital city of Peru, to fetch the gold that is gathered

thered here; and withal, to bring these people such necessaries as they want: by land it is full six weeks travel from thence to Lima. The main land to windward of this island is very low and full of rivers; all along the coast it rains extremely: the island is distant from the continent only four leagues.

Captain Sharp gave this island the name of Sharp's Isle, by reason we careened at this place. We anchored on the South-side of it, at the mouth of a very fine river, which there disgorgeth itself into the sea: there belong to this island about thirty rivers and rivulets, all which fall from the rocks on the several sides of the island: the whole circumference thereof is about three leagues and a half, being all high and mountainous land, excepting only on that side where we cast anchor. Here therefore we moored our ship in the depth of eighteen or twenty fathom water, and began to unrig the vessel: but we were four or five days space before we could get our sails dry, so as to be able to take them from the yards, there falling a shower of rain almost every hour, day and night: the mainland to the east of the island, and so stretching northwards, is extreme high and towering, and withal perpetually clouded, excepting only at the rising of the sun, when the tops of those hills are clear. From the South-side of this island where we anchored, we could see the low land of the main, at least a point thereof, which lieth nearest to the island: the appearance it maketh, is, as if it were trees growing out of the water.

Friday, July 2d, as we were heaving down our ship, our mainmast happened to crack; hereupon our carpenters were obliged to cut out large fishes and fish it, as they term it.

The next day after the mischance of our mainmast, we killed a snake fourteen inches thick, and eleven feet long. About the distance of a league from this island

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Island runs a ledge of rocks, over which the water continually breaks; the ledge being about two miles, or thereabouts, in length. Had we but anchored but half a mile more northerly, we had rid in much smoother water; for here the wind came in upon us in violent gusts. While we were there, from 13th, to July 3d, we had dry weather, which was esteemed as a rarity by the Spaniards, our prisoners. Every day we saw whales and grampusses, who would often come and dive under our ship; we fired at them several times, but our bullets rebounded from their bodies. Our choice and best provisions here were Indian conies, monkeys, snakes, oysters, concks, periwinkles, with some other sorts of good fish, and a few small turtle. Here we also caught a sloath, a beast well deserving that name, given it by the Spaniards, by whom it is called *Pereza*, from the Latin word *Pigritia*.

At this island died Joseph Gabriel, a Spaniard, born in Chili, who was to have been our pilot to Panama; he was the same man who had stolen and married the Indian king's daughter, as was mentioned above: he had all along been very true and faithful to us, in discovering several plots and conspiracies of our prisoners, either to get away, or destroy us. His death was occasioned by a calenture, or malignant fever, which killed him after three days sickness, having lain two days senseless. During the time of our stay at this island, we lengthened our top-sail yards, and got up top-gallant masts; we made two stay-fails, and refitted our ship very well; but we wanted provisions extremely, as having nothing considerable of any sort, but flour and water. Being almost ready to depart, captain Sharp our commander gave us to understand, he had changed his resolution, concerning the design of going to Guayaquil, for he thought it would be in vain to go thither, considering



ing that in all this time we must of necessity have been descried : yet, notwithstanding he himself before had persuaded us to stay. Being very doubtful among ourselves what course we should take, a certain old man who had a long time sailed among the Spaniards, told us he could carry us to a place called Arica, to which town, he said, all the plate was brought down from Potosi, Chuquisaca, and several other places within land, where it was digged out of the mines ; and that he doubted not but we might get there at least two thousand pound a man by way of booty ; for all the plate of the South-sea lay there, as it were in store, being deposited at the said place till such time as the ships fetched it away. Being moved with these reasons, and having deliberated thereupon, we resolved in the end to go to the said place. At this island of Gorgona afore mentioned, we likewise took down our round-house coach, and all the high carved work belonging to the stern of the ship : for when we took her from the Spaniards before Panama, she was as high as any third rate ship in England.

## C H A P. XI.

*The Bucaniers depart from the isle of Gorgona, with design to plunder Arica. They lose one another by the way. They touch at the isle of Plate or Drake's Isle, where they meet again : description of this isle. Some memoirs of Sir Francis Drake. They sail as far in a fortnight, as the Spaniards usually do in three Months.*

ON Sunday, July 25, in the afternoon, all things being now in a readiness for our departure, we set sail, and stood away from the island of Gorgona, or Sharp's Isle, with a small breeze which served us

at N. W. but as the sun went down, our breeze lessened by degrees into a perfect calm; yet we could perceive that our ship began to sail much better since the taking down her round-house, and the other alterations which we made in her.

Next day about two o'clock in the morning, we had a land breeze to help us, which lasted for the space of six hours; and again in the evening we had another. This day the Spaniards, our prisoners, told us, in common discourse, that in most parts of this low-land coast they find three-score fathom water. The third night, about ten o'clock, captain Sharp ordered me to speak to captain Cox, to go about and stand off from the shore, for he feared he would come too near it: but he replied, he knew well, that he might stand in till two o'clock. The next morning early, being cloudy and quite calm, we saw him not, and notwithstanding at eight o'clock it cleared up, neither then could we get sight of him; from hence we concluded, and so it proved, that we had lost him in the dark, through his obstinacy in standing in too long, and not coming about when we spoke to him. Thus our admiral's ship was left alone, and we had not the company of captain Cox again, till we arrived at the Isle of Plate, where we had the good fortune to find him again, as shall be mentioned hereafter. The weather being clear this morning, we could see Gorgona, at the distance of at least fifteen or sixteen leagues to the east-north-east.

Thursday, July 29, 1680, about four in the afternoon we came within sight of the island del Gallo, which I guessed to be nigh twenty-eight leagues distant from that of Gorgona, the place of our departure, S. W.

The next day, being July 30, the wind blew very fresh and brisk, insomuch that we were in some fear

fear for the heads of our low masts, as being very sensible that they were but weak: about three or four in the afternoon we saw another island, six or seven leagues distant from Gallo, called Gorgonilla. All the main land hereabouts lieth very low and flat and is in very many places overflowed and drowned every high water. This day, and the night before it, we lost by our computation three leagues of our way, which I believe happened by reason we stood out too far from the land, as having stood off a night long.

August the first, which was Sunday, we had a very fresh wind, at W. S. W. with several small showers of rain. Mean while we got pretty well to windward, by making small trips to and from which we performed most commonly by standing in three glasses, and as many out.

The next day, August the 2d, in the morning we came up to the high land of San Iago, where beginneth the high land of this coast. We kept at the distance of ten leagues from it, making continual short trips, as was mentioned before.

Wednesday, August the 4th, we continued still running in the wind's eye, as we had done for two days before. In the afternoon we discovered three hills at E. N. E. of our ship, which make the land of San Matteo. That evening also we saw the Cape of San Francisco.

Thursday, August the 5th, we being then about the Cape, it looked very like Beachy-head in England: it is full of white cliffs on all sides. The land turneth off here to the eastward of the south and maketh a large and deep bay, the circumference whereof is full of pleasant hills. In the bite of the bay are two high and rocky islands, which represent exactly two ships with their sails full. We were now come out of the rainy countries into a

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pleasant and fair region, where we had for the most part a clear sky, and dry weather; only now and then a small mist, which would soon vanish. Meanwhile a great dew used to fall every night, which supplied the defect of rain.

On Sunday, August the 8th, we came close under a wild and mountainous country, and saw Cape Passao, at the distance of ten leagues, or thereabouts, to windward of us. Ever since we came on this side Mangrove Point, we observed a windward current did run along as we sailed. Under shore and lower towards the pitch of the Cape, the land is full of white cliffs and groves.

The next day we had both a fair day, and a fresh wind to help us on our voyage. We observed that Cape Passao maketh three points, between which are two buoys. The leewardmost of the two is three leagues long, and the other four. Adjoining to the bay is a pleasant valley. Our prisoners informed us, that northward of these Capes live certain Indians who sell maize and other provisions to any ships that happen to come in there. The Cape itself is a continued cliff, covered with several sorts of shrubs and low bushes. Under these cliffs lies a sandy bay forty feet deep. The Spaniards say that the wind is always here between the S. S. W. and W. S. W.

Tuesday, August the 10th. This morning the sky was so thick and hazy, that we could not see the high land, though it were just before us; but as soon as it cleared up, we stood in towards the land, till we came within a mile of the shore.

August the 11th. We found ourselves N. N. W. from Monte de Christo, being a very high and round hill. From thence to windward is seen a very pleasant country, with spots here and there of woody land; which causes the country all over to look

look like so many enclosures of ripe corn-fields. To leeward of the said hill, the land is all high and hilly, with white cliffs at the sea side. The coast runs S. W. till it reaches a point of land, within which is the port of Manta. This port is a settlement of the Spaniards and Indians together, where ships that want provisions put in, and are furnished with several necessaries. About six or seven leagues to windward of this port is Cape St. Lawrence butting out into the sea, in form of the top of a church. As we sailed we saw multitudes of grampusses every day, as also water snakes of divers colours. Both the Spaniards and Indians are very fearful of these snakes, as believing there is no cure for their bitings.

This day before night we came within sight of Manta. Here we saw the houses of the town belonging to the port, which were not above twenty or thirty Indian houses, lying under the windward and the mount. We were not willing to be deserted by the inhabitants of the place, and hereupon we stood off to sea again.

On Thursday, August the 12th, in the morning, we saw the island of Plate at S. W. at the distance of five leagues or thereabouts: it appeared to us to be a plain country. Having made this island, we resolved to go thither and refit our rigging, and get some goats which there run wild up and down the country. For, as was said before, at this time we had no other provision but flour and water. This day several great whales came up to us, and dived under our ship. One of these whales followed our ship from two in the afternoon till dark night.

The next morning very early, about six of the clock, we came under the aforesaid isle of Plate; and here unexpectedly, to our great joy, we found at anchor the ship of captain Cox, with his whole company



company (whom we had lost at sea for the space of a whole fortnight before) who had arrived there four days before us, and were just ready to sail thence. About seven we came to an anchor, and when the other vessel sent us a live tortoise and a goat to feast upon that day; telling us withal of a great store of tortoises to be found ashore upon the rocks, and of much fish to be caught hereabouts. The island is very steep on all sides; insomuch that there is no landing, but only at the N. E. side thereof; where is a gully, near which we anchored in twelve fathom water. Here, at the distance of a furlong, or little more from the shore, is a cross hill standing, erected at the first discovery of it by the Spaniards. No trees are to be found on the whole island, only low shrubs, on which the goats feed, which are here very numerous. The shore is bold and hard, neither is there any water to be found upon it, save only the S. W. side, where it cannot be come at, being so environed by the rocks, and too great a sea hindering the approach by boats.

This island received its name from Sir Francis Drake, and his famous actions. For it is reported that he here made the dividend of that vast quantity of plate, which he took in the Armada of this sea, distributing to each man of his company by whole bowls full. The Spaniards affirm to this day, that he took at that time twelvescore tons of plate, and sixteen bowls of coined money a man; his number being then forty-five men in all; insomuch that they were forced to heave much of it overboard, because his ship could not carry it all. Hence this island was called by the Spaniards the Isle of Plate, from this great dividend, and by us Drake's-Isle.

All along as we sailed, we found the Spanish pilot to be very ignorant of the coasts. But they plead in excuse for their ignorance, that the merchants

chants either of Mexico, Lima, Panama, or other parts, who employ them, will not intrust one penny worth of goods on that man's vessel that corks her for fear she should miscarry. Here our prisoner told us likewise, that in the time of Oliver Cromwell, or the Commonwealth of England, a certain ship was fitted out of Lima with seventy brass guns, having on board her no less than thirty millions of dollars, or pieces of eight. All which vast sum of money was given by the merchants of Lima, and sent as a present to our gracious king (or rather his father) who now reigneth, to supply him in his exile and distress. But that this great and rich ship was lost by keeping along the shore in the bay of Manta above-mentioned, or thereabouts. The truth whereof is much to be questioned.

At this island we took out of Mr. Cox's ship, the old Moor who pretended he would be our pilot to Arica. This was done lest we should have the misfortune of losing the company of Cox's vessel, as we had done before, our ship being the biggest in burden, and having the greatest number of men. Captain Peralta oftentimes admired that we were gotten so far to the windward in so little space of time; whereas they had been, he said, many times three or four months in reaching to this distance from our departure: but their long and tedious voyages, he added, were occasioned by their keeping at too great a distance from the shore. Moreover he told us, that had we gone to the islands of Galapagos, as we were once determined to do, we had met with many calms and currents, in which many ships have been lost, and never heard of more. This island of Plate is about two leagues in length, and very full of deep and dangerous bays, as also such as we call Gullies in these parts.

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We caught at this island, and salted a good number of goats and tortoises. One man standing here on a little bay, in one day turned seventeen tortoises; besides which number, our Musqueto strikers brought us in several more. Captain Sharp our commander shewed himself very ingenious in striking them, he performing it as well as the tortoise-strikers themselves. For these creatures have so little sense of fear, that they offer not to sink from the fishermen, but lie still till they are struck. But we found that the tortoises on this side were not so large nor so sweet to the taste, as those on the north-side of the island. Of goats we have taken, killed, and salted above a hundred in a day, and that with ease. While we stayed here we made a square main-top-sail yard. We cut also six feet of our boltspit, and three feet more of our head. Most of the time we remained here we had hazy weather; only now and then the sun would happen to break out, and then shine so hot, that it burnt the skin off the necks of several of our men; as for me, my lips were burnt so that they were not well in a whole week after.

C H A P. XII.

*Captain Sharp and his company depart from the island of Plate, in prosecution of their voyage towards Arica. They take two Spanish vessels by the way, and get intelligence from the enemy. Eight of their company destroyed at the isle of Gallo. Tediuousness of this voyage, and great hardship they endured.*

HAVING taken in provisions and other necessities we could get at the isle of Plate, we set sail from thence, Tuesday the 17th of August, 1680.

in prosecution of our voyage and designs above-mentioned, to take and plunder the vastly rich town of Arica. This day we sailed so well, as we did likewise several days after, that we were forced to lie by several times, besides pressing our topsails, to keep our other ship company, lest we should lose her again.

Next morning, about break of day, we found ourselves at the distance of seven or eight leagues to the westward of the island, from whence we departed, standing W. by S. with a S. by W. wind. We were several times this day forced to stay for the other vessel belonging to our company.

The day following we continued likewise a west course all the day long. Hereabouts we observed very great riplings of the sea.

August the 20th. We found still that we gained very much of the small ship, which did not a little both perplex and hinder us in our course.

The next day I finished two quadrants; each of which were two feet and a half radins. Here we had in like manner, as hath been mentioned on other days of our sailings, very many dolphins, and other sorts of fish swimming about our ship.

On the morning following we saw again the island of Plate at N. E.

The same day, at the distance of six leagues, or thereabouts, from the said island, we saw another island called Solango. This isle lies close in by the main land. This day likewise we found that our lesser ship was still a great hindrance to our sailing, as being forced to lie by, and stay for her two or three hours every day. We found likewise, that the farther from shore we were, the less wind we had all along; and that under the shore we were always sure of a fresh gale, though not so favourable as we could have wished. Hitherto we had used to stand  
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off forty leagues, and yet notwithstanding, in the space of six days, we had not got above ten leagues on our voyage from the place of our departure.

August the 23d. This day, at S. by W. and about six leagues distance from us, we descried a long and even hill; I took it to be an island, and conjectured it might be at least eight leagues distant from the continent; but afterwards we found it was a point of land adjoining to the main, and is called Point St. Helen, being continued by a piece of land which lieth low, and in several places is almost drowned from the sight, so that it cannot be seen two leagues distance. In this low land the Spaniards have convenience for making pitch, tar, salt, and some other things, for which purpose they have several houses here, and a friar who serveth them as their chaplain. From Solango to this place are reckoned eleven leagues, or thereabouts. The land is hereabouts indifferent high, and is likewise full of bays. We had this day very little wind to help us in our voyage, except now and then a blast. These sometimes would prove pretty fair to us, and allow us for some little while a south course; but our chiefest course was S. E. by S.

Here we found no great current of the sea to move any way. At the isle of Plata before described, the sea ebbs and flows nigh thirteen feet perpendicular. About four leagues to leeward of this point St. Helen is a deep bay, having a key at the mouth of it, which takes up the better part of its wideness. In the deepest part of the bay on shore, we saw a great smoke, which was at a village belonging to the bay; to which place the people were removed from the point above-mentioned. Hereabouts it is all along a very bold shore. At three of the clock in the afternoon, we tacked about to clear ourselves of the point. Being now



a little way without the point, we spied a sail, which we conceived to be a bark; hereupon we hoisted out our canoe, and sent it in pursuit of her, which made directly for the shore. But the sail proved to be nothing but a pair of bark-logs, which arriving on shore, the men spread their sails on the sand of the bay to dry. At the same time there came down upon the shore an Indian on horseback, who hallowed to our canoe which had followed the logs. But our men fearing to discover who we were, in case they went too near the shore, left the design, and returned back to us. In those parts the Indians have no canoes, nor any wood fit to make them of. Had we been descried by these poor people, they would in all probability have been very fearful of us: but they offered not to stir, which gave us to understand, they knew us not. We could perceive from the ship a great path leading to the hills. So that we believed this place to be a look-out, or watch-place, for the security of Guayaquil. Between four and five we doubled the point, and then we descried the point Chonday, at the distance of six leagues S. S. E. from this point.

Tuesday, August 24th, at noon we took the other ship wherein captain Cox sailed into a tow, she being every day a greater hindrance than another to our voyage. Thus about three in the afternoon we lost sight of land, in standing over for Cape Blanco: here we found a strong current move to the S. W. the wind was at S. W. by S. our course being S. by E. At the upper end of this gulf, which is framed by the two capes above-mentioned, stands the city of Guayaquil, being a very rich place, and the embarcadero, or sea-port to the great city of Quito. To this place likewise many of the merchants of Lima usually send the money they design for Old Spain in barks, and by that means

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means save the custom that otherwise they should pay to the king, by carrying it on board the fleet. Hither comes much gold from Quito; and very good, and strong broad-cloth, together with images for the use of churches, and several other things of considerable value: but more especially cocoa-nut, whereof chocolate is made, which is supposed here to be the best in the whole universe. The town of Guayaquil consists of about one hundred and fifty great houses, and twice as many little ones: this was the town to which captain Sawkins intended to make his voyage, as was mentioned above. When ships of greater burthen come into this gulf, they anchor without Lapina, and then put their lading into lesser vessels to carry it to town. Towards the evening of this day a small breeze sprung up, varying from point to point: after which, about nine o'clock at night we tacked about, and stood off at sea, W. by N.

As soon as we had tacked, we happened to spy a sail N N. E. from us: hereupon we instantly cast off our vessel which we had in tow, and stood round about after them: we came very near the vessel before they saw us, by reason of the darkness of the night: as soon as they espyed us they immediately clapt on a wind, and sailed very well before us; insomuch, that it was a pretty while before we could come up with them, and within call: we haled them in Spanish, by means of an Indian prisoner, and commanded them to lower their top-sails. They answered, they would soon make us to lower our own. Hereupon we fired several guns at them, and they as thick at us again with their harquebusses: thus they fought for the space of half an hour, or more, and would have done it longer, had we not killed the man at the helm; after whom, none of the rest dared to be so hardy.

as to take his place. With another of our shot we cut in pieces and disabled their main-top hallards; hereupon they cried out for quarter, which we gave them, and entered their ship. Being possessed of the vessel, we found in her five-and-thirty men, of which number twenty-four were natives of Old Spain: they had one-and-thirty fire arms on board the ship for their defence. They had not fought us, as they declared afterwards, but only out of a bravado, having promised on shore so to do, in case they met us at sea. The captain of this vessel was a person of quality, and his brother, since the death of don Jacinto de Barahona, killed in the engagement before Panama, was now made admiral of the sea armada: with him we took also, in this bark, five or six other persons of quality. They did us, in this fight, though short, very great damage in our rigging, by cutting it in pieces. Besides which, they wounded two of our men: and a third man was wounded by the negligence of one of our own men, occasioned by a pistol, which went off unadvisedly. About eleven o'clock this night we stood off to the west.

The next morning, about break of day, we hoisted out our canoe, and went aboard the bark which we had taken the night before: we put on board our own ship more of the prisoners taken in the same vessel, and began to examine them, to get what intelligence we could from them. The captain of the vessel, who was a very civil and meek gentleman, satisfied our desires in this point very exactly, saying, 'Gentlemen, I am now your prisoner of war by the over-ruling providence of fortune; and moreover, am very well satisfied that no money whatsoever can procure my ransom, at least for the present, at your hands: hence I am persuaded, it is not my interest to tell you a

lye;

lye; which if I do, I desire you to punish me as severely as you shall think fit. We heard of your taking and destroying our armadilla, and other ships of Panama, about six weeks after that engagement, by two several barks which arrived here from thence; but they could not inform us whether you designed to come any farther to the southward; but rather, desired we would send them speedily all the help by sea that we could: hereupon, we sent the noise and rumour of your being in these seas to Lima, desiring they would expedite what succours they could send to join with ours: we had at that time in our harbour two or three great ships, but all of them very unfit to sail; for this reason, at Lima, the vice-roy of Peru pressed three great merchant ships, into the biggest of which he put fourteen brass guns; into the second ten; and in the other six: unto these he added two barks, and put seven hundred and fifty soldiers on board them all: of this number of men, they landed eight-score at Point St. Helen; all the rest being carried down to Panama, with design to fight you there: besides these forces, two other men of war, bigger than the afore-mentioned, are still lying at Lima, and fitting out there with all speed to follow and pursue you: one of these men of war is equipped with thirty-six brass guns, and the other with thirty. These ships, besides their complement of seamen, have four hundred soldiers added to them by the vice-roy. Another man of war belonging to this number, and lesser than the afore-mentioned, is called the Patache; this ship carries twenty-four guns, and was sent to Arica to fetch the king's plate from thence; but the vice-roy having received intelligence of your exploits at Panama, sent

• for this ship back from thence in such haste, that  
 • they came away and left the money behind them:  
 • hence the Patache now lies at the port of Callao,  
 • ready to sail on the first occasion, or news of your  
 • arrival thereabouts; they having for this purpose  
 • sent to all parts very strict orders to keep a good  
 • look-out on all sides, and all places along the  
 • coast: since this, from Manta they sent us word,  
 • that they had seen two ships at sea pass by that  
 • place: and from the Goat-Key also we heard, that  
 • the Indians had seen you, and that they were as-  
 • sured, that one of your vessels was the ship called  
 • La Trinidad, which you had taken before Panama,  
 • as being a ship very well known in these seas:  
 • from hence we concluded that your design was to  
 • ply and make your voyage thereabouts: now this  
 • bark wherein you took us prisoners, being bound  
 • for Panama, the governor of Guayaquil sent us out  
 • before her departure, if possible, to discover you;  
 • which if we did, we were to run the bark on shore  
 • and get away, or else to fight you with these sol-  
 • diers and fire arms that you see. As soon as we  
 • heard of your being in these seas, we built two  
 • forts, the one of six guns, and the other of four,  
 • for the defence of the town. At the last muster  
 • taken in the town of Guayaquil, we had there  
 • eight hundred and fifty men, of all colours; but  
 • when we came out, we left only two hundred  
 • and fifty men that were actually under arms.  
 Thus ended the relation of that worthy gentleman.  
 About noon that day we unrigged the bark which  
 we had taken, and then sunk her. Then we stood  
 S. S. E. and afterwards S. by W. and S. S. W.  
 That evening we saw Point St. Helen at the north  
 half east, at the distance of nine leagues or there-  
 abouts.

The



The next day, being August 26th, in the morning we stood south. The next day we reckoned up all our pillage, and found it amounted to 3276 pieces of eight, which was accordingly divided into shares amongst us. We also punished a friar, who was chaplain to the bark afore-mentioned, and shot him upon the deck, casting him over-board before he was dead: such cruelties, though I abhorred very much in my heart, yet here was I forced to hold my tongue and not contradict them, as having no authority to oversway them. About ten o'clock this morning we saw land again, and the pilot said we were sixteen leagues to leeward of Cabo Blanco: Hereupon we stood off and in, close under the shore; which appeared to be all barren land.

The morning following we had very little wind; so that we advanced but slowly all that day: to windward of us we could perceive the continent to be all high land, being whitish clay, full of white cliffs. This morning, in common discourse, our prisoners acknowledged they had destroyed one of our little barks, which we lost in our way to the island of Cayboa. They stood away, as it appeared by their information, for the Goat-Key, thinking to find us there, as having heard captain Sawkins say, that he would go thither. On their way they happened to fall in with the island of Gallo, and understanding its weakness by their Indian pilot, they ventured on shore, and took the place, carrying away three white women in their company. But after a small time of cruising, they returned again to the afore-mentioned island, where they stayed the space of two or three days; after which they went to sea again. Within three or four days they came to a little key four leagues distant from this isle. But while they had been out and in thus several times, one of their prisoners made his escape

to the main, and brought off from thence fifty men with fire-arms. These placing themselves in ambuscade, at the first volley of their shot killed six of the seven men that belonged to the bark. The other man that was left took quarter of the enemy; and he it was that discovered our design upon the town of Guayaquil. By an observation which was made this day, we found ourselves to be in the latitude of 3 D. 50 S. At this time our prisoners told us, there was an embargo laid on all the Spanish ships, commanding them not to stir out of the ports, for fear of falling into our hands.

Saturday, August the 28th. This morning we took out all the water, and most part of the flour that was in captain Cox's vessel: having done this, we made a hole in the vessel, and left her to sink, with a small old canoe at her stern. To leeward of Manta, a league from shore, in eighteen fathom water, there runs a great current outwards. About eleven in the forenoon we weighed anchor, with wind at W. N. W. turning it out. Our number was now 140 men and boys, and 55 prisoners, all now in one and the same bottom. This day we got six or seven leagues in the wind's eye.

All the day following we had a very strong S. S. W. wind, insomuch that we were forced to sail with two riffs in our main-top sail, and one also in our fore-top-sail. Here captain Peralta told us, that the first place which the Spaniards settled in these parts, after Panama, was Tumbes, now to leeward of us; that there a priest went ashore with a cross in his hand, while ten thousand Indians gazed at him; being landed, there came two lions out of the woods, and after them two tygers, on the backs of whom the priest having gently laid the cross, they fell down and worshipped it; which gave such a testimony to the truth of the christian religion, that the  
Indians

Indians soon embraced the same. About four in the evening we came abreast the cape (Cape-Blanco) which is the highest part of all. The land thereabouts appeareth to be barren and rocky.

Were it not for a windward current which runs under the shore hereabouts, it were totally impossible for any ships to get about this cape, there being such a great current to the leeward in the offing. In the last bark which we took, of which we spoke in this chapter, we made prisoner one Nicholas Moreno, a Spaniard by birth, and who was esteemed to be a very good pilot of the South-Sea. He was continually praising the sailing of our ship, which he said was especially occasioned by the alterations we made in her. As we went along, we observed many bays between this cape and point Parina, of which we shall make mention hereafter.

In the night the wind came about to S. S. E. and we had a very stiff gale; so that by break of day we found ourselves about five leagues to windward of the cape afore-mentioned.

The next day likewise, being the last of August, the wind still continued S. S. E. as it had done the whole day before. This day we thought it convenient to stand farther out to sea, for fear of being descried at Païta, which now was not very far distant from us. The morning proved hazy. But about eleven we spied a sail, which stood then just as we did, E. by S. Coming nearer by degrees, we found her to be nothing but a pair of bark-logs under sail. Our pilot advised us not to meddle with, or take any notice of them, for it was very doubtful whether we should be able to come up with them or not; and then by giving chase to them, we should easily be descried and known to be English pirates, at they called us. These bark-logs sail excellently well for the most part, and some

of them are so big as to carry two hundred and fifty pecks of meal from the vallies to Panama, without wetting any of it. This day, by an observation made, we found ourselves in 4 degrees 55 minutes latitude south: we saw point Parina at N. E. by E. and at the distance of six leagues, or thereabouts.

At the same time La Silla de Paita bore from us S. E. by E. being distant only seven or eight leagues.

The town of Paita is situated in a deep bay about two leagues to the leeward of this hill. It serves for an embarcadero, or port town, to another great place which is distant from thence about thirteen leagues higher in the country, and is called Piura, seated in a very barren country.

On Wednesday the first of September our course was S. by W. The midnight before there sprung up a land wind.

That night as we sailed we saw something that appeared to us like a light; and the next morning we spied a sail, from whence we judged the light had come. The vessel was six leagues from us in the wind's eye, and thereupon we gave her chase. She stood to windward as we did. This day we had an observation, which gave us latitude 5 degrees 30 seconds. At night we were about four leagues to leeward of her, but so great a mist fell, that we suddenly lost sight of her. At this time the weather was as cold with us as in England in November. Every time we went about with our ship, the other did the like. Our pilot told us, that this ship set forth from Guayaquil eleven days before they were taken; and that she was laden with rigging, woollen, and cotton cloth, and other manufactures made at Quito. Moreover, that he heard that they had spent a mast, and had put into Paita to refit it.

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The night following they shewed us several lights through their negligence, which they ought not to have done, for by that means we steered directly after them: the next morning she was above three leagues in the wind's eye from us. Had they suspected us, it could not be doubted, but they would have made towards the land; but they seemed not to fly nor stir for our chace. The land here all along is level, and not very high. The weather was hazy, so that about eleven that morning we lost sight of her. At this time we had been a whole week, at an allowance of only two draughts of water a day, so scarce were provisions with us. That afternoon we saw the vessel again, and at night we were not full two leagues from her, and not above half a league to the leeward. We made short trips all that night.

On Saturday, September the fourth, about break of day, we saw the ship again at the distance of a league, or thereabouts, and not above a mile to windward of us. They stood out as soon as they espied us, and we stood directly after them. Having pursued them for several hours, about four in the afternoon we came up within half-shot of our small arms to windward of them. Hereupon they perceiving who we were, presently lowered all their sails at once, and we cast dice among ourselves for the first entrance. The lot fell to larboard; so that twenty men belonging to that watch entered her. In the vessel were found fifty packs of cocoa-nut, such as chocolate is made of, many packs of raw-silk, Indian cloth, and thread-stockings; these things being the principal part of her cargo. We stood out S.W. by S. all the night following.

Next day we put on board our ship the chief part of her lading. In her hold we found some rigging, as Nicholas Moreno, our pilot, taken in the former vessel



vessel of Guayaquil, told us; but the greatest part of it was full of timber. We took out of her also some osenbriggs, of which we made top-gallant sails, as shall be said hereafter. It was now nineteen days, as they told us, since they had set sail from Guayaquil; and then they had only heard there of our exploits before Panama, but did not so much as think of our coming so far to the southward, which did not give them the least suspicion of us, though they had seen us for the space of two or three days before at sea, and always steering after them; otherwise they had made for the land, and endeavoured to escape our hands.

Next morning likewise we continued to take in the remaining part of what goods we desired out of our prize. When we had done, we sent most of our prisoners on board the said vessel, and left only their fore-mast standing, all the rest being cut down by the board. We gave them a fore-sail to sail withal, all their own water, and some of our flour to serve them for provision; and thus we turned them away, as not caring to be troubled or encumbered with their company. Notwithstanding we detained still several of the chief of our prisoners. Such were don Thomas de Argandona, who was commander of the vessel taken before Guayaquil; don Christoval, and don Baltazar, both gentlemen of quality taken with him; captain Peralta, captain Juan Moreno the pilot, and twelve slaves, of whom we intended to make good use, to do the drugery of our ship. At this time I reckoned we were about the distance of thirty-five leagues, or thereabouts, from land. By an observation made this day, we found latitude 7 degrees 1 second. Our plunder being over, and our prize turned away, we sold both chests, boxes, and several other things at the mast by the voice of a cryer.

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The day following we stood S. S. W. and S. W. by S. all day long. This day one of our company died, named Robert Montgomery, being the same man that was shot by the negligence of one or two of our men with a pistol through the leg, at the taking of the vessel before Guayaquil, as was mentioned above. We had an observation also this day, by which we now found latitude 7 degrees 26 seconds. On the same day likewise we made a dividend, and shared all the booty taken in the last prize. This being done, we hoisted into our ship the launch which we had taken in her, as being useful to us. For several days past, it was observed that we had every morning a dark cloud in the sky; which in the North-sea would certainly foretel storm, but here it always blew over.

Wednesday, September the eighth, in the morning, we threw our dead man above-mentioned into the sea, and gave him three French volleys for his funeral ceremony. The night before we saw a light belonging to some vessel at sea. But we stood away from it, as not desiring to see any more sails to hinder us in our voyage towards Arica, whither now we were designed. This light was undoubtedly from some ship to leeward of us; but next morning we saw it not. Here I judged we had made a S. W. by S. way from Paita, and by an observation found 8 degrees S.

## CH A P. XIII.

*A continuation of their long and tedious voyage to Arica, with a description of the failings thereunto. Great hardship for want of water and other provisions. They are descried at Arica, and dared not land, the country being all in arms before them. They retire from thence, and go to Puerto de Hilo, close by Arica. Here they land, take the town with little or no loss on their side: refresh themselves with provisions; but in the end are cheated by the Spaniards, and forced shamefully to retreat from thence.*

September the ninth, we continued still to make a S. W. by S. way as we had done the day before. By a clear and exact observation taken the same day we found now latitude 8 degrees 12 seconds. All the twenty-four hours last past afforded us but little on our voyage, and we were forced to tack about four or five hours.

Next day, by another observation taken, we found then latitude 9 degrees. Now the weather was much warmer than before; and with this warmth we had small and misty rains that frequently fell. That evening a strong breeze came up at South-east by East.

The night following likewise there fell a very great dew, and a fresh wind continued to blow. At this time we were all hard at work to make small sails of the ozenbrigs we had taken in the last prize, as being much more convenient for its lightness. The next morning, being Saturday September the eleventh, we lay by to mend our rigging. These last twenty-four hours we had made a South-west by West way. And now we had an observation that gave us latitude

10 degrees 9 seconds. I supposed this day we were West from Cosme about the distance of eighty-nine leagues and a half.

September the twelfth. This day we reckoned a S. S. W. way, and that we had made thirty-four leagues and three quarters or thereabouts; also that all our westing from Païta was eighty-four leagues. We supposed ourselves now to be in latitude 11 degrees 40 seconds; but the weather being hazy, no observation could be made.

September the thirteenth. Yesterday in the afternoon we had a great eclipse of the sun, which lasted from one of the clock till three after dinner. From this eclipse I then took the true judgment of our longitude from the Canary Islands, and found myself to be 285 degrees 35 in latitude 11 degrees 45 seconds. The wind was now so fresh, that we took in our top-sails, making a great way under our courses and sprit-sail.

September the fourteenth. We had a cloudy morning, which continued so all the first part thereof, about eight it cleared up, and then we set our fore-top-sail; and, about noon, our main-top-sail likewise. This was observable, that all this great wind precedent did not make any thing of a great sea. We reckoned this day that we had run by a S. W. by W. way twenty-six leagues, and two thirds.

The next day we had close weather, as we had the morning before. Our reckoning was twenty-four leagues and two thirds, by a S. W. by W. way. But by observation made, I found myself to be 23 degrees South of my reckoning, as being in the latitude of 15 degrees 17 seconds.

On the sixteenth we had but small and variable winds: for the twenty-four hours last past, we reckoned twenty-four leagues and two thirds, by a S. W. by S. way. By observation we had latitude 16 degrees

41 seconds. That evening we had a gale at E. S. E. which forced us to hand our top-sails.

The seventeenth likewise we had many gusts of wind at several times, forcing us to hand our top-sails often. But in the forenoon we set them with a fresh gale at E. S. E. My reckoning this day was thirty-one leagues by a S. S. W. way. All day long we stood by our top-sails.

The eighteenth. We made a S. by W. way. We reckoned ourselves to be in latitude 19 degrees 32 seconds S. The weather was hazy, and the wind began to cease by degrees.

The next day being the nineteenth, we had a very small wind. I reckoned thirteen leagues and a half, by a S. W. by S. way: and our whole westing from Païta to be 164 leagues in latitude 20 degrees 6 south. All the afternoon we had a calm with drizzling rain.

Monday, September the twentieth. Last night we saw the Magellan clouds so famous among mariners in the South-seas. The least of these clouds was about the bigness of a man's hat. After this sight the morning was very clear. We had run at noon at E. S. E. thirteen leagues and a half: and by an observation then made, we found latitude 20 degrees 15 seconds South. This day the wind began to freshen at W. by S. yet we had a very smooth sea.

Next morning the wind came about to S. W. yet slackened by degrees. At four this morning it came to S. by E. and at ten the same day to S. E. by S. We had this day a clear observation, and by it latitude 20 degrees 25 seconds. We stood now E. by N. with the wind at S. E.

September the twenty-second. This morning the wind was at E. S. E. By a clear observation we found latitude 19 degrees 30 S. Likewise on a N. E.

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N. E. by E. way,—and two leagues and two thirds.

September the twenty-third. We had a fresh wind and a high sea. This morning early, the wind was at E. and about ten at E. N. E. From a clear observation we found our latitude 20 degrees 25 seconds. The way we made was S. by W. That morning we happened to split our sprit-sail.

Next morning the wind was variable and inconstant, and the weather but hazy. We reckoned a S. by E. way. This day we bent a new main-top-sail, the old one serving for a fore-top-sail. In the afternoon we had but little wind, whereupon we lowered our main-top-sails, being a very smooth sea.

The following day being likewise calm and warm, we set up our shrouds both fore and aft. An observation taken this day afforded us latitude 21 degrees 57 S. That evening we bent a sprit-sail.

September the twenty-sixth. An observation gave us latitude 22 degrees 57 S. At noon we had a breeze at N. N. E. our course being E. S. E. In the afternoon we set up a larboard top-sail studden-sail, in the evening the wind came about at north pretty fresh.

Next day we had a smooth sea, and took in four studden-sails. For the day before, in the afternoon, we had put out, besides that abovementioned, another studden-sail, and two main studden-sails more. This day we had by observation 22 degrees 45 seconds, having made by an E. S. E. way, thirty-five leagues and a half. Our whole meridian difference was sixty-eight leagues and a half.

September the twenty-eighth. All the forenoon we had very little wind, and yet withal a great south-  
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ern sea. By observation we had latitude 22 degrees 40 seconds.

September the twenty-ninth. All the night past we had much wind, with three or four smart showers of rain. This was the first that we could call rain, ever since we left Cape Francisco above-mentioned. This day our allowance was shortened, and reduced to three pints and a half of water for a day, and one cake of boiled bread to each man for a day. An observation this day gave us latitude 21 degrees 59 S. by a N. E. by E. way.

September the thirtieth. We had a cloudy day, and the wind very variable, the morning being fresh. Our way was N. E. half N. wherein we made eighteen leagues.

October the first. All the night past, and this day we had a cloudy sky, and not much wind. We made a N. E. by E. way, and by it seventeen leagues and two miles. This day we began at two pints and a half of water for a day.

The second, we made an E. N. E. way, and by it twenty-six leagues or thereabouts. Our observation this day gave us latitude 20 degrees 29 seconds. I reckoned now that we were ten leagues and a half to east of our meridian, the port of Paita; so that henceforward our departure was eastward. The wind was this day at S. E. by S.

The third, we had both a cloudy morning, a high sea, and drizzling weather. An observation which we had this day, gave us latitude 19 degrees 45 seconds. In the afternoon the wind blew so fresh, that we were forced to hand our top-sails and sprit-sail.

The fourth likewise we had a high sea, and cold wind. At break of day we set our top-sails: an observation made afforded us latitude 19 degrees

seconds. Here we supposed ourselves fifty-nine leagues D. M.

The fifth we had still a great sea, and sharp and cold wind, forcing us to our low sails. By a N. E. by E. way, we reckoned this day twenty-six leagues and a half.

But on the sixth we had great gusts of wind, in-  
so much that this morning our ring-bolts gave way which held our main stay, and had like to have brought our main-mast by the board. Hereupon we ran three or four glasses west before the wind. By an observation we found latitude 19 degrees 4 seconds.

The seventh of October the wind was something fallen. We had both a cloudy day and variable winds.

The eighth of the said month we had again a smooth sea, and small whiffing winds. This morning we saw a huge shoal of fish, two or three water-snakes, and several seals.

Next day we had likewise a very smooth sea, and cloudy day. Our course was east.

October the tenth we had also a cloudy day, with small and variable winds, and, as a consequent thereof, smooth sea. Our way was S. by E. This day we spied floating upon the sea several tufts of sea-grass, which gave us good hopes that we were not far from shore. In the afternoon we had a S. E. by E. wind that sprang up : the night was very cold and cloudy.

The eleventh we had a fresh wind at S. E. and S. E. together with a cloudy day ; such as we had experimented for several days before : we reckoned this day thirty-two leagues by a N. E. by E. way. Our pilot told us, the sky is always hazy near the shore on these coasts.

October

October the twelfth. We had a clear day, and North-east way.

The thirteenth. We had but little wind: this day we saw a whale, which we took for an infallible token that we were not far distant from land, which now we hoped to see in a few days. We made an E. E. way, and by it we reckoned nineteen leagues, and the evening was very calm.

Thursday, October the fourteenth. We had but a calm and close day till afternoon, then the weather became very hot and clear. This day we saw several land-fowls, being but a small bird; concerning which our pilot said, that they use to appear about one or two days sail from the land. Our reckoning was eleven leagues by an E. S. E. way. In the evening we thought we had seen land, but it proved to be nothing but a foggy bank.

October the fifteenth. Both the night past, and this day, was very clear: we made an observation this day, which gave us latitude 18 degrees South.

The sixteenth. Last night and this day were contrary to the former, both cloudy. Our way was N. E. by E. whereof we reckoned thirteen leagues.

Sunday, October the seventeenth. The wind blew very fresh, our course being E. N. E. About five that morning we saw land; but the weather was hazy, that at first we could scarce perceive whether it was land or not. It was distant from us about eight leagues, and appeared as a high and round hill, being in form like a sugar-loaf. We saw land afterwards all along to the S. E. by E. from it. In the evening, we being then within five leagues of the shore, the land appeared very high and steep.

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October the eighteenth. All the night last past we stood off to sea with a fresh wind. This morning we could just see land at N. N. E. We reckoned a S. E. by E. way; and by observation we found latitude 17 degrees 17 S.

Tuesday, October the nineteenth. We had very cloudy weather, finding what our pilot had told us to be very true, concerning the haziness of this shore. We saw all along as we went very high land, covered with clouds, insomuch that we could not see its top.

Wednesday, October the twentieth. We had likewise cloudy weather, and for the most part calm, which continued so the day next.

Friday, October twenty-second. This morning we saw land before us. Our pilot being asked what land that was, answered, It was the point of Hilo.

There is every morning and evening a brightness over the point which lasts for two or three hours, being caused by the reflection of the sun on the barren land, as is supposed. This day we had but little wind, and the great want of water, we were now under, occasioned much disturbance among our men. As for my part, I must acknowledge, I could not sleep all night long through the greatness of my drought. We could willingly have landed here to seek for water; but the fear of being discovered, and making ourselves known, hindered us from so doing. Thus we unanimously resolved to endure our thirst a little longer. Hereabouts is a small current that runs under the shore. This morning we had but little wind at south, our course being E. S. E.

Our wind continued to blow not above six hours each day. We reckoned the difference of our meridian to be this day one hundred and eighty leagues. We were



were now hard put to it for want of water, having but half a pint a day to our allowance.

October the twenty-third. This day we were forced to spare one measure of water, thereby to make it hold out the longer; so scarce it became with us.

About nine a clock at night we had a land wind and with it we stood S. E. by S. But all the night after we had but little wind.

October the twenty-fourth. All the night past we had very cloudy and dark weather, with mizling rain. The morning being come, cleared up; but all the land appeared covered with clouds.

This day we resolved 112 men should go ashore. And about eight this evening we sent our launch and four canoes, with 89 men, to take three or four fishermen at a certain river close by *Mora de Sama* called *el Rio de Juan Diaz*, with intent to gain what intelligence we could how affairs stood at present on the coast and country thereabouts.

Monday, October the twenty-fifth. Last night being about the distance of one league and a half from the shore, we sounded, and found forty-five fathoms water, with hard ground at the bottom. This morning our people and canoes that were sent to take the fishermen returned, not being able to find either their houses, or the river: they reported withall, they had had a very fresh wind all the night long under shore, whereas we had not one breath of wind all night on board.

Tuesday, October the twenty-sixth. The evening before, about six o'clock, we left the ship to go to take Arica, resolving to land about the distance of a league to windward of the town. We were about six leagues from the town when we left the ship, whereby we were forced to row all night, that

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we might reach before day the place of our landing. Towards morning the canoes left the launch, which they had all night in a tow, and wherein I was; and made all the speed they possibly could for the shore, with design to land before the launch could arrive. But being come near the place we designed to land at, we found, to our great disappointment, we were discovered, and that, all along the shore, and through the country, they had certain news of our arrival. Notwithstanding we would have landed, if we could by any means have found a place to do it in; but the sea ran so high, and with such a force against the rocks, that our boats must needs have been staved in a thousand pieces, and we in great danger of wetting our arms, if we should venture ashore. The bay all round was possessed by several parties of horse, and likewise the tops of the hills; which seemed to be gathered there, by a general alarm through the whole country, and that they waited only for our landing, with a design to make a strong opposition against us. They fired a gun at us, but we made them no answer, returning to our ship, till a fairer opportunity. The hill of Arica is very white, occasioned by the dung of the abundance of fowls that build their nests in the hollow thereof. To leeward of the said hill lies a small island at about a mile from the shore: about half a league from that island, we could perceive six ships at anchor; four of which had their yards taken down from their masts, but the other two seemed ready to sail. We asked our pilot concerning these ships, and he told us, that one of them was mounted with six guns, and the other with only four. Being disappointed of our expectations at Arica, we now resolved to bear away from thence to the village of Hilo, there to take in water and other provisions; as also to learn what intelligence we

could obtain. All that night we lay under a calm.

October twenty-seven. In the morning we found ourselves about a league to windward of Mora da Sama, notwithstanding the weather was quite calm, and we only drove with the current at leeward. The land between Hilo and Mora da Sama forms two several bays, and the coast runs along N. W. and S. E. as may appear by the following demonstration. Over the land we could see from our ship, as we drove, the coming or rising of a very high land, at a great distance far up in the country.

October twenty-eight. The night before we sent away our four canoes with fifty men in them, to seize and plunder the town of Hilo. All this day was very calm, as the day before.

The next morning about break of day, we had a fair breeze sprung up, with which we lay right in with the port. About one in the afternoon we anchored.

We cast anchor at the distance of two miles from the village; and then we perceived two flags which our men had put out, having taken the town, and set up our English colours. The Spaniards were retreated to the hills, and there had done the same. Being come to an anchor, our commander, captain Sharp, sent a canoe on board of us, and ordered that all the men our ship could spare, should come ashore. Withal they told us, that those of our party that landed the morning before, were met by some horsemen on the shore, who only exchanged some few volleys of shot with our men, but were soon put to flight; that hereupon our forces had marched directly to the town, where the Spaniards expecting we should have landed at first, made a breast-work thirty paces long of clay and banks of sand. Here in a small skirmish we happened to kill an Indian, who told us before  
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he died, that they had received news of our coming nine days ago, from Lima, and but one day before from Arica. Having taken the town, we found therein great quantity of pitch, tar, oil, wine, and flour, with several other sorts of provisions. We endeavoured to keep as good a watch as the Spaniards did on the hills, fearing lest they should suddenly make any attempt to destroy us.

Next day, being October the thirtieth, we chose out threescore of our men who were fittest to march, and ordered them to go up and search the valley belonging to the town. We found it very pleasant, being all overset with fig-trees, olive-trees, orange, lemon, and lime-trees, with many other agreeable fruits: about four miles up the valley we came to a sugar-work, or Ingenio de azucar, as it is called by the Spaniards, where we found great store of oil and melasses; but most of the sugar the owners had hidden from us in the cane itself. As we marched up the valley, the Spaniards marched along the hills, and observed our motion: from the tops of the hills they often tumbled great stones upon us, but with great care we endeavoured to escape those dangers, and the report of one gun would make them all to hide their heads immediately: from this house, I mean the sugar-work above-mentioned, Mr. Cox's, myself, and one Cannis a Dutchman (who was our interpreter) went to the Spaniards with a flag of truce. They met us very civilly, and promised to give us fourscore of beeves for the ransom of the sugar-work, upon condition that it should not be spoiled nor demolished. With them we agreed, that they should be delivered to us at the port the next day at noon: hereupon captain Sharp in the evening sent down to the port twenty men, with strict orders that our forces should offer no violence in the least to those that brought down the beeves.



Sunday, October thirty-one. This day being employed in casting up some accounts belonging to our navigation, I reckoned that Hilo was the eastward of Paita, one hundred and eighty-seven leagues. This morning the captain of the Spaniards came to our commander captain Sharp with a flag of truce, and told him, that sixteen beeves were already sent down to the port, and that the rest should certainly be there the next morning. Hereupon we were ordered to prepare ourselves to retreat, and march back to the port, and there embark ourselves on board our ship. My advice was to the contrary, that we should rather leave twenty men behind to keep the house of the sugar-work, and that others should possess themselves of the hills, thereby to clear them of the Spaniards and their look-out. But my counsel not being regarded, each man took away what burthen of sugar he pleased, and thus we returned to our vessel. Being come there, we found no beeves had been brought down at all, which made us suspect some trick in the enemy.

The next morning, being November the first, our captain went to the top of the hills before-mentioned, and spoke with the Spaniards themselves concerning the performance of their agreement. The Spaniards made answer, that the cattle would certainly come down this night; but in case they did not, that the master or owner of the sugar-work was now returned from Potosi, and we might go up and treat with him, and make, if we pleased, a new bargain for the preservation of his house and goods; whose interest it was more than theirs to save it from being demolished. With this answer our men returned, and we concluded to wait till the next day for the delivery of the beeves.

The day following, about eight in the morning, there came in to us a flag of truce from the enemy,

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telling us, that the winds were so high, that they could not drive the cattle, otherwise they had been delivered before now; but withal, that by noon we should in no manner fail to have them brought to us, Noon being come, and no cattle appearing, we now having filled our water, and finished other concerns, resolved to be revenged on the enemy, and do them what mischief we could; at least by setting fire on the sugar-work. Hereupon, threescore men of us marched up the valley, and burnt both the house, the canes, and the mill belonging to the Ingenio; we broke likewise the coppers, coggs, and multitudes of great jars of oil that we found in the house: this being done, we brought away more sugar, and returned to the port over the hills and mountains; the which we found very pleasant, smooth, and level, after once we had ascended them. It fell out very fortunately to us that we returned back this way we did; for otherwise our men at the sea-side had inevitably been cut off, and torn in pieces by the enemy, they being at that time dispersed, and straggling up and down by two and three in a party. For from the hills we spied coming from the northward of the bay, above three hundred horsemen, all riding at full speed towards our men, who had not as yet descried them, and little thought of any such danger from the enemy so nigh at hand. Being alarmed with this sight, we threw down what sugar we had, and ran incontinently to meet them, thereby to give our other men time to rally, and put themselves into a posture of defence. We being in good rank and order, fairly proffered them battle upon the bay; but as we advanced to meet them, they retired and rid towards the mountains to surround us and take the rocks from us if possibly they could. Hereupon, perceiving their intention, we returned back and possessed ourselves of the said rocks, and also of the lower town; as the Spaniards themselves did of the upper town (at the distance of half a mile

mile from the lower) the hills and the woods adjoining thereunto. The horsemen being now in possession of these quarters, we could perceive, as far as we could see, more and more men resort to them, so that their forces increased hourly to considerable numbers. We fired one at another as long as we could reach and the day would permit. But in the mean while we observed, that several of them rid to the watch hill, and looked out often to the sea-board. This gave us occasion to fear, that they had more strength and forces coming that way, which they expected every minute. Hereupon, lest we should speed worse than we had done before, we resolved to embark silently in the dark of the night, and go off from that coast where the enemy was so well provided for us. We carried off a great chest of sugar, whereof we shared seven pounds weight and a half each man thirty jars of oil, and great plenty of all sorts of garden herbs, roots, and most excellent fruit.

**END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.**